

The Reader's Digest

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JANUARY NINETEEN TWENTY-FOUR

The Power Which the People Possess

How Often Do You Register Your Opinion in Washington?

Editorial, The Independent (Jan. 5, '24)

ONCE in a while Congressmen can be made to understand that they are the people's representatives. It begins to look as though we were now witnessing one of those happy occasions. Letters are pouring into Washington at an unprecedented rate, urging Representatives not to block Secretary Mellon's plan to reduce taxes, and the recipients are taking note of them. One of the best letters of this kind appeared in all the New York papers:

Hon. Benjamin F. Fairchild,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Fairchild:

You asked for my vote last fall and I was glad to give it to you.

I am now asking you to vote for tax reduction in accordance with the plan outlined by Secretary Mellon.

I want to know where you stand and how you act on the matter. I therefore respectfully request you to send me daily the Congressional Record.

As a veteran, a volunteer and a flight commander at the front in the Air Service who spent seventeen months in France and therefore would receive a large amount from the bonus I wish to express absolute disapproval of any bonus measure.

The boys with whom I flew over the lines, those who are living and those who gave their lives in a flaming torch to their country, would damn the man who sought to tip

them for their loyalty. The fact that the tip came not from the gratitude of the people but from the toadying of self-seeking politicians to a politically much feared organization makes it all the more hateful.

At the same time the tip, if voted, must be accepted by every veteran to help him defray the added expense of heavy taxation and high living costs for many years to come.

This is a mild expression of the way many other ex-service men feel with whom I have talked.

We have an able President who has pointed the way and made it easy for you. Now let us see you do the right thing for your country and forget yourselves for a little while.

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Loomis,

Mount Vernon, N. Y., December 18.

On the average, it appears, Congressmen are receiving letters of like character at the rate of one hundred a day. They are having their effect. For although it was taken for granted, a few weeks ago, that the bonus could be passed over the President's veto, doubt is now creeping in. But the battle is not yet won. It can only be won if the people continue to exercise the power which they possess. Americans like to break all records: here is their chance to deluge Congress as it was never deluged before.

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The Children's Crusade

Extracts from *The Mentor*

Sherrill Schell

THE Children's Crusade, that remarkable movement among the children of France and Germany in the dawn of the thirteenth century, has been a constant theme of poet and painter. No account of it was written by a participant. Stories have come down from chroniclers who knew something of the beginnings of the enterprise, who saw the children on the march, but who depended upon hearsay and their own imagination for the more fabulous and sensational features of their narratives. The testimony of hysterical children who shared in the crusade was taken as incontrovertible evidence, and a vast number of legends have resulted.

It is easy to understand how the movement started. Everywhere, in the churches and on the streets, the clerics were making impassioned appeals to the people to support the crusades. Crusaders passed along to the sound of hymns and the swinging of the censers. Tales of the mighty deeds of these knights were told to little boys and girls as they clustered open-mouthed about their parents' knees. In 1212 a half-demented priest went from town to town preaching a Children's Crusade. "Why have the other crusades

failed?" he cried. "Was it not because the men who joined them were not pure in thought and heart? To you children it is given to set free Jerusalem! God calls you. He will surely work miracles for all along the way. The water of the sea shall be dried up for you to pass over. The Saracen will flee in terror before you, and you, the pure in heart, shall see the City of God. Lo! It has been revealed to me that these things shall be!"

The children left their games and listened to this appeal and they trudged after the frenzied priest under a sort of spell. Superstition was in the air and many believed that this was a call from Heaven. A French shepherd boy named Stephen made a profound impression on young and old by declaring that the Lord had appeared to him in the guise of a humble pilgrim and had given him a message to carry to the king. The ancient chronicles are full of the miracles wrought through him and other "holy boys." Stephen, accompanied by other shepherd lads, went from town to town saying that Christ had ordered him to lead a company of children to the Holy Land, there to wrest his sepulcher from the unbeliever. His youth, his prepossession,

ing appearance and fiery eloquence, moved all who heard him, and the children hailed him as their leader. Thousands ran after him with the cry: "God wills it! God wills it!"

As they marched they sang the song of the old crusaders, with its repeated refrain: "Lord, restore Christendom; Lord, restore to us the true and holy cross." For two centuries this watchword had sounded over Europe and in Asia, and had spurred on the Christian knights in all their battles with the Saracens. It was estimated that the number that followed Stephen was 30,000. Many of the children were only ten or eleven years of age, while others were only seven or eight. They were accompanied by a few adults, some of them mothers with babes at their breasts.

The German children, said to have numbered 20,000, marched up the Rhine Valley, crossed the Alps, and proceeded to Genoa. The sight of the blue Mediterranean renewed their courage, for they had been promised that it would roll back as did the Red Sea for the Children of Israel, and provide a passage to the Holy Land. They waited weeks for a miracle that never happened. A few of the children were adopted by noble Genoese families, other homesick ones returned to their native towns after months of wandering. Many of them died of the hardships of the long journey.

The story of the French children is even more tragic. They struggled down to Marseilles after many tribulations, some of them stricken with disease, and many dying of exposure. They too had expected the sea to divide, so that they might cross. One day, just when they were beginning to lose hope, they were approached by two merchants, who offered to take them to Palestine. "We want no money," they said, "we are only too glad to serve in such a holy

cause." Suspecting nothing, the company boarded the seven vessels provided for them, but before the towers of Marseilles had faded into the distance the sinister purpose of the merchants had been discovered. The children were to be sold as slaves in the East. A few days after there came a great storm and two of the ships went down with all on board. The other five vessels arrived in Alexandria, and here the children were sold to various potentates and wealthy merchants. The Sultan of Cairo bought forty of the strongest boys to train for service in his bodyguard. Twelve boys who refused to change their faith were tortured and put to death. Others passing through the horrors of the slave market were never heard of again. One man who appeared in Paris eighteen years later stated that the ruler of Alexandria still held seven hundred of the band in bondage—"no longer infants, but men of ripe age."

"The people of ancient days believed the Mediterranean to be the 'center of the universe'—as its name signifies. Geographically they were wrong; but for history, romance, art, poetry, and religion they named this great sea better than they thought, for here is human history touching every age and condition."

With this introduction, *The Mentor* for January presents a fascinating account of a personally conducted tour with the well known traveler and author, Dwight L. Elmendorf, entitled "Madeira and the Mediterranean." Other features in this issue include: "Picturesque Scenes on the Mediterranean Shores," "The World's Most Famous Volcano," "Sicilian Silhouettes," "A Dramatic Moment in History," "Stepping Back 4,000 Years," "Man's Double in Ancient Egypt," and "Boccaccio, King of Story Tellers."

I have greatly enjoyed the Digest during the past year. It is absolutely the best thing that comes to my desk. It is certainly the busy man's friend.—John H. Booth, 425 DeBaliviere Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

The Versailles Treaty and After

Extracts from *Current History* (Jan. '24)

Ray Stannard Baker

AT the opening of the World War the United States, traditionally and sentimentally, was an isolated nation with little or no concern regarding European affairs. In reality, since the Spanish War of 1898 we had been truly a world power. Thus, while we were walking with our heads in a kind of cloud of traditional isolation, our feet were taking us practically into every kind of bewildering international complication. To say that we had no interest in world affairs, that we were isolated and aloof, was as absurd in 1914 as it is today.

We all remember how, little by little, we were drawn irresistibly into the conflict, as we shall be drawn again and again into future wars unless there is some other common-sense method of settling the issues involved. The supreme interest and concern of President Wilson continued to be peace. How, out of this terrible conflict, might a truly just and permanent peace be secured? He had to develop, and develop so powerfully that no nation could get away from them, policies of statesmanship which would make a victor's peace safe for the world. He had to lift the whole psychology of the struggle to a higher plane, a moral plane. By using the great prestige of American disinterestedness, he sought to commit the victors beforehand to a peace of justice and right, founded upon a new international cooperative organization to guarantee that peace.

His program was both clear and simple—it rested upon historic American principles; and it convinced the world because it set forth plainly what men, in their innermost souls, knew to be true. In one year's time the President lifted the whole world

to a new plane of conscience and action. In Italy during the Fall of 1918 I saw extraordinary evidence of this wave of idealism. The President's picture was in every window. I was even told that some peasants set candles to burn before it. His "sculptured words" I saw at Turin emblazoned on every kiosk; his name was on every tongue. Hope lay in America. This was true in the North, especially in the weak countries in Central Europe. So strong was the feeling for Wilson as the "liberator of Poland" that when Polish university men met each other—one of them told me—they struck hands and cried out "Wilson!" as a greeting.

As one looks back upon it now it has all a strange aspect of unreality; and yet it was true at the time. We cannot forget that these principles were so true, so real, to the world in that time of suffering that they were actually adopted (with slight exception) by all the nations as the sober and practical program of peace. At the armistice in November, 1918, America received the solemn promise of France, Great Britain and Italy, as well as of Germany, that peace should be made upon the basis of the Fourteen Points.

The American program was simple, and not in any way new. It was really the application of two well-tested American principles to world affairs. First, the democratic idea of government by "consent of the governed." In its world application it was called the "right of self-determination" of peoples. Second, the obligation of human kind to cooperate with each other: the principle of federalism among States.

Of course there arose bitter, one-

sided men who could see only the difficulties of "self-determination," or the difficulties involved in a League of Nations. President Wilson, however, always linked these two principles together. This was his program: "What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." What better statement is there today of the practical elements of world peace?

President Wilson, however, had not only a plan, but a vision. It was a vision of America as an unselfish leader in world affairs, devoting her great power and prestige to bringing to pass the plan of reconstruction which the world had accepted. His vision was a world away from the German idea of a State seeking by force only its own safety and its own welfare; and equally a world away from the idea of those United States Senators whose principle was the absolute selfish interest of America, and who were against accepting any obligation of responsibility for the good of the world. The President's vision was a vision of great States, like the greatest men, seeking not their own ends, but serving humanity, and of a new order of international relationships founded upon this spirit. In short, the President applied to the relationships of nations the highest principles of Christian morality accepted as governing the actions of individuals. "Whoever of you shall be the chiefest, shall be the servant of all." He thought of America not in terms of great political power, or of great wealth, but in terms of moral leadership and of international service.

Mr. Wilson has often been sneeringly charged with sponsoring a program of "impossible idealism." Disraeli long ago defined a practical man as "a man who practices the blunders of his predecessors." Mr. Wilson was asking the world not to practice the ancient blunders which inevitably led to war and the downfall of civilization. He asked the world to face reality, and to set up new instru-

mentalities based upon law to meet old evils. President Wilson was an idealist; but his idealism was intensely practical. If individuals find that orderly society, maintained at certain sacrifices, is practical and pays, why should States not have similar experience? It is to America's own immediate and even material interest to take the idealistic and unselfish role of leadership in re-establishing world order. We cannot stand by and see Europe fall to pieces without being vitally affected by it ourselves. Our welfare lies, in the long run, upon the road of world cooperation. Americans will discover this truth out of her sorrow in the end if she heedlessly abandons all her neighbors to a disastrous fate.

We may now come to the tragedy of Paris. The world had eagerly promised everything in November, 1918! The world was to be made over: nations were to be just and generous; war was to be abolished! In January what a change! No sooner had the war ended than the high moral enthusiasm which marked its concluding year began to fade away. The spirit of unity began to disintegrate. Ancient loyalties, jealousies, ambitions immediately began to reassert themselves. No miracle had really occurred. Clemenceau told the Chamber of Deputies at Paris that he still believed in the old-fashioned system of alliances. Although both he and Lloyd George had accepted fully the President's basis of settlement, viz., the Fourteen Points, Lloyd George was now for making Germany pay to the "last shilling," and notable French and Italian leaders were advancing territorial and other claims which, if granted, would defeat the very principles to which the Allies had agreed at the armistice.

In America, there was the same reaction, though not as severe. Politics again came uppermost and backfires of criticism of Wilson and his policies everywhere began to be set. Senator Lodge was declaring in the Senate that heavy indemnities must

be paid by Germany (although the agreement in the armistice was that only reparations, not indemnities, were to be paid). Senator Johnson was asking Americans to take counsel of their fears, preserve their isolation and leave the nations of Europe to their own devices. It was thus that Wilson's idea of America as a great servant of the world, began to be superseded by the new slogan, "America First!"

No leader, no superman, could have stemmed that fierce tide of reaction, nor overcome the wild passions let loose at that time by the war. We can see now how hopeless it was. President Wilson himself made serious mistakes of method. The human and personal weaknesses of leadership are inevitable elements in every great crisis. The President had risen to unprecedented heights as a bearer of the torch of truth, but when it came to the tasks of the statesman and diplomat, there were limitations of his powers, not only temperamental, but also physical—he was a sick man at Paris—which counted heavily against him.

If the United States, represented by President Wilson, had not been at the council table, the conference at Paris would have settled down quickly to the methods of the old secret bargaining. Each nation had already agreed, in slimy secret treaties concluded earlier in the war, on what it was to have. The business of dividing the rich spoils of the war and of punishing Germany would have been swiftly accomplished. But America was there; Wilson was there, with many ideas of a peace of justice and of a method to prevent wars from arising in the future. These ideas, moreover, had been agreed to at the armistice, and this was disconcerting to the European powers. The entire Peace Conference thus consisted of a bitter and prolonged struggle between the old and the new, between European and Asiatic desires, fears, ambitions, greeds and necessities, on the one hand and the American principles (and true inter-

ests), upon the other. One group looked backward to old precedents and traditions; the other forward to new instrumentalities.

The drama, from January to April, grew daily more intense, more bitter, leading swiftly to the inevitable crisis. The central issue was then exactly what it continues to be today—the issue of French security. For over four years now the history of the world has revolved around French fear and French ambition. There have been other important issues—but the core of the situation has been French security.

Wilson said:

Any attempt to crush Germany and control 60,000,000 people permanently by force must in the long run fail; it will ruin Europe. It will set back all civilization. It will plant the seeds of new wars in the future. It will build up a new militarism and a new system of armed alliances worse than the old. The only safety lies in a new cooperative organization of all the nations to guarantee peace and thus protect France. We can do by cooperation what it is impossible to do by competitive and ruinous armies and navies.

But who can reason with terror or argue with panic? To this offer of protection by a League of Nations Clemenceau responded: "We are still afraid; your League is not strong enough." The Americans and the British in desperations sought finally to meet the problem by a special Anglo-American compact to protect France in case of emergency until the League of Nations should be actively functioning. If America had gone forward and ratified this compact and had whole-heartedly joined the League—and by virtue of that action had taken a place on the World Court and the Reparations Commission—the present chaos in Europe might have been prevented. As it is now, the peace and good order of civilization are being pounded to death upon the wild obsession of one nation and the vacillation of two others.

Peace had somehow to be made, so settlements and compromises followed. The French turned upon Clemenceau only less fiercely for

making compromises than the Americans turned upon Wilson for not making more compromises.

Such, then, became the famous Treaty of Versailles. It was a compromise. It satisfied many of the demands of the Old Diplomacy—for territory, for security, for crushing reparations—but on the other hand, it contained the great central item of the New Diplomacy, for which Wilson chiefly fought—the covenant of the League of Nations.

Having no unity of spirit is it surprising that this Treaty has caused difficulties? And yet it is a tremendously human document. Here in 214 pages, may be seen man as he is today. Here are expressed all the fears, greeds, vanities, pettiness, which come irresistibly to the surface at such a time; and yet here are also, and in the leading place, the highest aspirations and hopes of the world: the determination to set up a new plan of cooperation for the world to live by, a League of Nations to secure mutual safety and peace. Here is also a halting initiation of a new effort to adjust the relationships of labor and capital, vague, perhaps, but no vaguer than the present opinion of the world regarding that critical problem. Here also are planted the seeds of many of the new and great aspirations of human kind: the desire to make the world's highways freer to all men, to open the way for the economic forces of the nation to serve, rather than to destroy civilization, to abolish great armies and navies, and, finally, here are new resolutions to meet the old, old human evils of the slavery of women and children, the slavery of black men, the opium traffic.

All this there is in the book for the New World to use as it will. A nation may dwell upon all the bitterness of this treaty and demand the execution, to the last comma, of all the injustice wrapped up in certain of its terms. Some nations there are—France, for example—that are

now pursuing this course and, unless arrested, will lead the way to new and more dreadful war. Or a nation may seize upon the constructive and forward looking aspects of it with determination to use them to the uttermost, and lead the way to peace. The nation best fitted to do this, America, has so far rejected its opportunity of world leadership, has considered its interests, its fears, and its rights, rather than its duties and responsibilities.

We are willing to give advice to Europe; we are willing to contribute a little of our substance in spare change philanthropy to help feed the starving; but when it comes to taking hold sincerely of the great main problem of world order, our vacillation does not much differ from cowardice. We preach to bankrupt Europe that it must reform its finances, and at the same time demand that Europe pay us the last penny of the \$11,000,000,000 she owes us. Furthermore, to prevent her paying us in the only way she can, by the shipment of goods, we set up a tariff wall sky high so that our own industries may not be injured. At the same time that we scold the European nations of their economic greed, we are sending our traders and exploiters throughout the world, seizing raw material, and "grabbing" concessions for oil and other minerals as in Turkey, Russia and elsewhere. Is it any wonder that Europe grows cynical over our feebly pious protestations and advice?

If America truly wants peace and good order in the world, and is willing to make the sacrifices and take the necessary chances, she can have it. She is great and powerful enough to do nearly what she will. But she is divided in her own soul: she wants good things, but does not want them passionately enough. She is governed—exactly like Europe—by her immediate fears, her selfish interests; she does not look into the future; she is neither truly idealistic nor truly practical.

President Wilson expressed the soul of America at its noblest and truest. His principles were true when he uttered them; they are still true. There can be no peace or justice in the world without a return to them and an honest attempt to apply them.

The Stakes in Mexico

Condensed from *The Survey* (Jan. 1, '23)

Frank Tannenbaum

THE present clash in Mexico is essentially a new battle in an old struggle that began with the coming of the Spaniards. The causes fought for have been social, economic and political equality of the masses of the Indians and their half-Indian brothers with the sons of the Spanish conquerors. The Spaniard conquered Mexico, but he neither assimilated nor annihilated the Indian. He simply took the Indian's land away and that made a slave of him because freedom is impossible in an agrarian community without land ownership. He lost his status and became a servant in the house of his fathers.

The Spaniard came as an adventurer, a gold seeker—and left his women behind him. The Indian at once began to absorb him physically. That was inevitable, and through centuries that have passed the Spaniard has well nigh disappeared and the Mexican has risen in his place, but the Mexican is half Indian in blood, and more in tradition, temper and view of life.

The Indian has, by mingling, achieved physical equality with the white man and the history of Mexico is the struggle to complete this achievement by adding to it social, economic and political equality. Such equality in an agrarian community is not possible without the possession of land and so the revolutions have centered around the breaking up of large estates, about the redistribution of the *ejidos* to the Indians, and all Mexican history is dominated by this agrarian struggle, the ultimate fulfillment of which is the basis of any real progressive life in Mexico.

The Obregon regime represents, if not the first one of the first, and certainly the most successful outcome of

this hundred years' struggle of the descendants of the disinherited Indian to achieve a position of equality with the descendants of the conquerors—it is to the Indian his dream come true. The Obregon administration has done three things:

First, it set out to educate Mexico with a passion for teaching the masses that has thrilled even the most casual observer. The educational budget was raised from 5,000,000 pesos under Carranza to 50,000,000 under Obregon. Five hundred libraries were organized and a million copies of a children's reader were printed; 400,000 volumes were brought from Spain to be distributed in libraries and schools. The classics, a hundred of them, were to be printed in lots of 6,000 apiece, for sale at cost to the public and for free distribution to libraries and schools. The air was vibrant with the enthusiastic attempt to build schools. A vigorous campaign against illiteracy was inaugurated. This was something new in Mexico—an aim to give spiritual and cultural equality to the masses.

Second, the Obregon regime has pacified Mexico, despite the present revolution. Mexico actually had peace, something it never had had before. It boasted of tyranny before this, or a peace imposed by soldiers, by rural police, by terror, but it never enjoyed good-natured peace as it did now. Diaz ruled for 30 years but he carried on a war of extermination against the Mayas and Yaquis, but Obregon had peace—five months after he came into power. So-called bandits dominated sections of Mexico; within a few months the country settled down and became quiet. Obregon gave them what they had been fighting for. He gave

them land, schools, water. The bandits turned their sabres into plowshares; Pancho Villa rode an American tractor and harvested 40,000 bushels of wheat.

Literally this happened: when Obregon came into power he found himself with 130,000 federal troops and about 50,000 bandits. He took the bandits into the army and increased the federal forces by 50,000 and then set them to clearing land and building roads; he settled them in military colonies and gave them land and machinery, animals and agricultural implements; allowed them to keep their arms and gave them more ammunition if they wanted it; but he said, "The revolution is over. Here is what you have been fighting for. Now settle down."

And so they did. Obregon not only pacified Mexico, but he reduced the army. He would take a division and settle it on the land just as he had done with the bandits, and where he could not do that, the army was employed in the building of roads—good roads.

The third thing Obregon made possible was the development of the labor movement. There are now in Mexico between 500,000 and 800,000 organized workers—city workers, small farmers, peons who received their land and settled bandits; all belong to the Mexican Federation of Labor. It is significant because it is the only organization in Mexico. The labor movement is the only group that has a large number of people. It has succeeded in forging into the community a sense of social policy, a sense of loyalty and a continuous power of resistance. Until now, loyalty in Mexico was personal loyalty, and when your leader went back on you, you changed your loyalty. But a labor movement has persistent ideals and organization. The old palace revolution has become well-nigh impossible.

The three things taken together have set in motion a series of forces which were remaking, and will, ultimately, remake Mexico. Ten years

ago the Maya Indians, for example, were slaves. Recently I saw a nominating convention where there were assembled about 2,000 Maya Indians who came to watch the proceedings of about 60 delegates. This nominating convention is but a symbol of the spiritual resurrection involved. I attended a land distribution in Yucatan where to the tune of much joy; for the first time in 400 years, the Indians again became land owners.

Education, land distribution, and labor organization are policies involving the making of a new Mexico. But such a social program cannot be carried forward without destroying the power and the hold of the large-owners and their friends. That, fundamentally, is the issue now. De la Huerta represents the attempt to undo, or at least to stop the carrying forward of the policies of the present regime. It is a military rebellion—a breaking away of some of the federal army leaders with their political and social allies. If they should succeed in overthrowing the Obregon government they would only succeed in initiating civil war in Mexico, because they will be confronted by the Indians, the settled bandits, the organized workers who will fight again as they have fought before, for a hundred years if necessary, to achieve the program involved. This resistance to the de la Huerta-Sanchez rebellion is very different from the traditional Mexican military adventure where any leader with funds could take the field with hired peons. Today, we have the people themselves rising to the defense of the government. The mere fact that President Obregon has felt himself sufficiently powerful with his people to give them arms is the most illuminating thing about the present situation. The present rebellion is a counter-revolution. It is the latest stand of the reactionaries, whose defeat would stimulate the carrying forward of the Obregon program with greater energy.

Re-making Greece

Condensed from *The Forum* (Jan. '24)

Fridtjof Nansen

THE land of Greece, having suffered a collapse of its dreams of territorial expansion, finds itself called upon to absorb a sudden increase of population, unprecedented since the days of the Aryan migrations. In their unfortunate military adventure the Greeks attempted to go over to their kinsmen in Asia Minor, to answer the call of the descendants of the Greek Colonists of 3000 years ago who were tenants of the farms of the Near East long centuries before the Turkish conquerors arrived. Orthodox Christians, they had learned to speak the Turkish tongue, but they had resisted the Moslem religion. In their attempt to include these kinsmen in a Greater Greece, the Greek armies failed utterly. In their retreat they precipitated instead an action threatened for centuries, the evacuation en masse of the Greek population and their flight by hundreds of thousands across the Aegean to the old homeland of Hellas, Greece, utterly exhausted after ten years of war and numbering only four and a half million inhabitants, now finds more than a million of these fugitives within her newly compressed borders. Imagine the problem which would be facing your United States, large and prosperous as you are, if you suddenly found yourselves, in a single year, confronted with an immigration of 25 to 30 million people, four-fifths of whom were completely dependent on charity?

The Greek Government made a stupendous effort to help the refugees. The League of Nations took action at once and asked me as High Commissioner for Refugees to do what I could to help them, and I at once went to Greece and within a few days got some grain for immedi-

ate relief. The Near East Relief saved thousands of lives through their child feeding and the American Red Cross fed last winter about 800,000 refugees until they retired from the field on the 30th of June.

Undoubtedly but for the work of the American agencies a catastrophe would have happened. Even so, there was terrible suffering and a great mortality. It is estimated that between seventy and one hundred thousand souls died last winter. There was also a danger of widespread epidemics amongst all these poor people living in most unhealthy concentration camps. This danger was largely averted by the work of the Epidemic Committee of the League of Nations, which provided for the vaccination of 728,000 refugees. From Europe, especially Great Britain, was also sent food and great quantities of clothing which proved of inestimable value.

Relief work of this kind, however, does not solve the even greater problem of helping the refugees to become self-supporting. From the first it has seemed desirable to settle as many of the refugees as possible on the vacant lands of Greece. Happily there is vacant land, and about two-thirds of the refugees are agriculturists.

A great example of reconstructive effort was shown by the British organizations who acted in close co-operation with the High Commissioner of the League. Under the leadership of Colonel Procter, Deputy High Commissioner for the League, 10,000 refugees were settled on vacant land; they were distributed in about 15 villages and lived in tents while they built for themselves houses constructed of brick which they themselves made out of local clay. They

were supplied with food, first by the League and later by the British organizations. They were supplied with seed and animals by the Greek Government, and Colonel Procter and his agency provided expert direction. Some of them cultivated the fields; others started as fishermen; others as charcoal burners and brick makers; others grew tobacco, and some started a silk plantation. Sixty thousand mulberry trees were planted, which constitute the greatest silk plantation in Europe. The women were started in other kinds of work, carpet and blanket making, lace making and embroidery. In the short space of nine months these 10,000 refugees, who, when they arrived, were in a destitute condition, were rendered self-supporting.

The problem for Greece now is to do for the great mass of one million refugees what has been done in this way for 10,000 of them. The Greek Government worked out a proposition for procuring sufficient security for raising the necessary loan to realize this scheme, and applied to the League of Nations for support. The possibilities of the loan were studied by experts of the financial section of the League, and the securities proposed by the Greek Government were found to be sufficient for a loan of from four to six million pounds sterling.

The money is to be used only for settling the refugees in permanent productive work; its expenditure is controlled by a Settlement Commission consisting of two members appointed by the Greek Government and two members appointed by the League of Nations. The League has appointed Mr. Henry Morgenthau—former Ambassador of the United States to Turkey—as Chairman of the Commission. In the event of a tie vote, Mr. Morgenthau will have a second vote. The Greek Government will transfer to the Settlement Commission not less than two and one-quarter million acres of land suitable for settlement.

The Bank of England at once sub-

scribed one million pounds, and we are confident that enough money can be borrowed on the markets of the world to carry out the plan. It will be a great piece of reconstructive work, only second to the salvation of Austria, which was also accomplished by the League of Nations. The problem of Greece is essentially the same as that of Austria: to prevent a country of ancient civilization going into economic and financial chaos. None of the international loan, be it noted, may be expended for charitable purposes; it is solely for final settlement in productive work. To keep the refugees alive until they can become self-supporting is the problem still unsolved, and which is my immediate concern.

The exchanging of Greek and Turkish populations is a plan which was discussed years ago, both in Turkey and in Greece. The Treaty itself was signed by Turkey and Greece at Lausanne, Jan. 30, 1923. It is a pity, of course, that this should be the best possible solution of the problem of Greek and Turkish minorities, a plan whereby there are to be uprooted populations whose ancestors for century after century have occupied the same farms. But centuries of trial have demonstrated that in these territories Moslems and Christians have not the power of political assimilation. It is not a question of Greek and Turk but of Orthodox and Mohammedan.

To superintend this immigration a mixed commission has been designated by the two powers, consisting of four Greeks, four Turks, and three members chosen by the Council of the League from powers neutral in the War. The million former Turkish subjects who migrated precipitately before the advancing Turkish armies and abandoned everything, do not figure in this exchange. The Turkish Government takes the position that by their act they relinquished all claim to the properties left behind them, and for them there is no recourse to restitution. So many have thus under duress evacuated territory now held by Turkey that the Christians who remain are less in number than the Moslem subjects of Greece for whom they are to be exchanged. It is estimated that about 400,000 Turks will evacuate Greece, and 150,000 Greeks remain to leave Turkey, by the terms of the Lausanne Treaty. To determine the value of the properties thus surrendered and to arrive at a monetary adjustment, is one of the functions of the Commission.

—Editor of The Forum.

Political Fireworks in the Philippines

Condensed from *Asia* (Jan. '24)

Marguerite Wolfson

IT is vitally necessary to the Philippines that the American people should become interested in the Islands. Their well-being depends upon it. As for the political situation, has there ever been, or will there ever be, a time when the Philippines are without a crisis?

Two years ago, when General Wood took office as governor-general, conditions were as bad as they could be in every way. This was partly due to the maladministration of Governor Harrison and partly to the recent and utter collapse of the war-time and post-war inflation. American residents and Filipino political leaders were at daggers' points. The Filipinized regime of Governor Harrison was an unconfessed, but proved, failure.

The appointment of General Wood was greeted with jubilation by nearly every American in the Philippines and with resignation by all the Filipinos who took any interest. The Americans expected the new Governor to "go after" the Filipinos, and so did the Filipinos. The new governor did nothing of the sort. On the contrary, he withheld blame and distributed praise for anything he could find to praise. Nobody got spanked. The Filipinos were relieved and bewildered. The Americans were angry and bewildered. General Wood became quite unpopular. He was in the position of being a buffer between two sets of extremists.

In the meantime this "militarist" Governor and his military staff spent a good deal of time on long and detailed inspection-trips up and down the Islands. He devoted a great deal of thought and consultation with experts to plans for straightening out the affairs of the Insular Treasury,

getting the government out of business and seeing that the civil service was restored to an economical and efficient status and that roads were kept in repair. He studied, too, how to prevent the rich and powerful caciques, or chief men in the provinces, from too sorely oppressing the poor and weak ordinary laborers. They did a good deal to remedy the deplorable sanitary and health conditions; also to improving the condition of abandoned children of Filipinas and American men. Governor Wood was appalled at the conditions he found throughout the archipelago with regard to these outcasts of the community. Police reports showed that at least 8,000 of 18,000 of these children were in a sad plight.

In Manila the Philippine Legislature did a good deal of lawmaking and resolving for "immediate, complete and absolute independence." When the Legislature was not in session, the political leaders were very busy with quarrels of their own, and privately obstructing a number of the Governor's plans and generally seeing how far they could go.

So matters ran for nearly a year. The Governor approved most of the legislation. He vetoed a few bills and by so doing aroused a storm of protest. Since Governor Harrison rarely used the veto, the Filipino politicians considered that it should never be used any more. The Governor also kept a very close check upon the various government departments. This was also resented. But worst of all the Governor decided that the Philippine National Bank must be closed. This institution, the depository of government funds, half the capital stock of which was owned by the government, was run entirely by

Filipinos. It had been so mismanaged that its assets, which were at one time over \$150,000,000 gold, had been entirely dissipated and it had become a large debtor. A large number of its officials are today either in jail, under indictment or appealing to a higher court. The bank was closed last summer and the Governor's ruin decided upon, apparently, by the leaders of the Coalition Party.

The bomb exploded over the case of one Conley, an American secret service man, long in the service of the Philippine government. Mr. Conley planned to put a little "pep" into the enforcement of the gambling laws, and accidentally or incidentally arrested a number of prominent Filipinos. His head was demanded. He was tried on some charge or other but was acquitted by a Filipino judge. Governor Wood then reinstated him in the service, over the protest of the Mayor of Manila. The Mayor of Manila, the members of the Council of State and all the heads of the departments therefore resigned.

Considering their actions a challenge to his authority and a deliberate attempt to defy him, the Governor accepted the resignations. A more profoundly surprised group of politicians never existed. By order of the Governor, the assistant chiefs of departments became the acting heads, and business went on as usual. The American community stood behind the Governor to a man.

The Filipinos are not yet able to conduct a democratic government of the American type. There are twelve million inhabitants in the Islands, and the combined circulation of the newspapers and periodicals is only a hundred thousand. These are honest and telling figures. The Filipinos are a mixture of races and tribes, a kindly, intelligent, semi-civilized people. They have not yet developed a national character. They have no idea of political or civic responsibility. Three hundred years ago they

were apparently "empty vessels" into which the Spaniards poured a measure of rather curious western ideas of religion, ethics and politics. The Americans topped these off with a froth of their own notions of education and democratic ideals. With time and patience, the Filipinos should become genuinely westernized.

What happens next in the Philippines depends on the United States Congress and the American people. The Filipinos need some serious attention from us. At present, the American people have rights and duties in the Philippines. We should either get into or get out of the Islands. The affairs of the Philippines should not be a football of American politics. The governor-general should have the authority commensurate with his responsibility; or we should retreat from the Philippines and let the Filipinos take the consequences. Most of us who know conditions in the Islands believe that American retirement would be disastrous for the Filipinos and that it would be unworthy for our country to impose misfortunes upon them, because of the clamor of a few politicians. We believe that Americans will have to work for at least 50 years more at training the Filipinos for independent government.

Of all the public men I have known, the one who most nearly lives up to Kipling's definition of a man who can "walk with Kings," yet not "lose that common touch," who fills every minute "with sixty seconds of distance run," is General Leonard Wood. He stands head and shoulders above the American politicians of our day. One feels so much that he is a man of fine mental and moral quality that one would rather be wrong on matters of policy with General Wood than right with a lesser man. It is a relief to have our country once more worthily represented in the Philippines.

Meeting an Emergency at Sea

Extracts from The American Magazine (Jan. '24)

Allan Harding

I ASKED Arthur H. Rostron, the most famous living captain, and now in command of the great ocean liner the "Mauretania," what had been his most terrible experience at sea. At this question, a shadow passed over his face. He made no reply, but I knew what was in his mind. "The rescue of the 'Titanic's' survivors?" I prompted.

"Yes . . . of course," he said, slowly. "Not because of any hardship or danger to me; but because of the contact with a tragedy so terrible."

The story of that rescue, as Captain Rostron told it, is especially interesting as an example of efficiency and presence of mind in a great emergency. I have an enormous respect for any man who thoroughly *knows his job*, whose mind works more clearly and more swiftly under stress, and who acts instantly and with precision.

You remember that the "Titanic," with 1,900 passengers, was making her first voyage and was in mid-Atlantic bound for New York when she struck an iceberg. The "Carpathia," with Captain Rostron in command, was en route from New York to Liverpool. He had gone to bed about midnight on Sunday, and was just dropping to sleep when he was roused. The wireless operator had received a message from the "Titanic," saying that she had struck an iceberg and needed immediate assistance. The captain put two or three rapid-fire questions, ordered the ship's course changed, and directed that a message be sent to the "Titanic" saying that the "Carpathia" was coming to her aid.

The "Titanic's" operator had given that vessel's position. Captain Rostron, going into the chart-room to

work out the "Carpathia's" position, saw the bos'n's mate pass the window, and knew that he and the men on watch were about to wash down the decks. He called him and told him to let that go and, instead, to get all the ship's boats ready to be lowered. He explained that the "Carpathia" was hurrying to the assistance of another vessel, and was in no danger herself.

Then followed an example of what I mean by a man's knowing his job. The chief engineer had been summoned by the captain at once. He was told to put on extra stokers and make all speed possible. Then the captain sent for the ship's doctors: three of them—English, Italian, and Hungarian. To each he assigned a post of duty. Next he summoned the purser and the chief steward. They were instructed to have their men at all the gangways to receive survivors from the "Titanic." They were to get the names as soon as they could, so that these could be reported by wireless.

The entire crew of the "Carpathia" was to be called and coffee was to be served to them. Tea, coffee, and soup were to be prepared for the survivors who might be taken aboard. Blankets were to be ready at hand; some were to be supplied to the boats which were to go to the rescue. All public rooms on the ship, also the officers' quarters—including the captain's cabin—were to be given up to the people from the "Titanic." The "Carpathia's" steerage passengers were to be put in one section of the third-class quarters, and the vacant bunks given to people from the "Titanic's" steerage.

All this was to be done quietly, so as not to cause any excitement.

The captain did not know then

that the "Titanic" was sinking. But he did not wait to find out! That might have meant haste and confusion and inefficiency later. Whatever might develop, he prepared for the worst; quietly, systematically, without overlooking a single detail. Later, the operator picked up a message from the "Titanic" to the "Olympic," asking that ship to have all her boats ready to pick up survivors. But Captain Rostron had not waited for any such request. He had anticipated a possible need and had prepared for it.

After giving his first orders, he issued more detailed instructions: all gangway doors to be opened; powerful lights to be placed at the gangways and hung over the sides; a chair to be slung at each gangway as a help in getting sick or injured on board; canvas ash bags to be provided, in which children could be drawn up over the ship's side; pilot ladders and side ladders, blocks and lines of various kinds, to be placed where they would be a help to the small boats and the people in them; oil to be poured down the forward lavatories to make the water alongside the ship as smooth as possible. Nothing was forgotten.

In the "Carpathia's" furnace-room, the stokers were working like supermen. The ship was making even better speed than the captain had dared hope was possible; and, at two-thirty, from his post on the bridge, he suddenly saw a green flare far ahead. In a few seconds it disappeared, but he knew he was approaching the scene of the disaster. The "Carpathia" began sending up rockets as a sign that she was approaching. The doctor, the purser, the chief steward reported to the captain that everything was in readiness, and at four o'clock he stopped the engines, for he was sure he was close to the "Titanic's" position.

He had seen the green light at intervals. At first he hoped it was on the "Titanic" herself; but as they came nearer he saw it was so low down that it must be from a small boat. This proved to be the case, for

they soon came alongside of a boat containing about 25 people, with one officer in charge. The "Titanic" had gone down about an hour before.

Dawn was just beginning to break. And, as the light slowly grew stronger, the "Carpathia" was seen to be surrounded by scores of icebergs. In coming to the rescue, the "Carpathia's" course had to be changed several times to avoid the menace of these bergs. Dozens of them were from 50 to 250 feet high. And scattered among these icebergs, for a distance of several miles, were the "Titanic's" small boats, each with its load of human beings. By a little past eight o'clock, the occupants of all these boats had been transferred to the "Carpathia," and Captain Rostron, instead of continuing his voyage to Liverpool, returned to New York, that he might land the survivors at the port they wanted to reach.

I asked him about the behavior of the people he had rescued. Most of them, as everyone knows, were women and children. How did they meet suffering and tragic loss? And his own passengers! Their plans were disarranged; their comfort was interfered with. Were they selfishly resentful?

"The outstanding impression I have carried with me ever since," he said, "was of the quiet which prevailed. There was no noise, no excitement, no confusion. The people we took aboard made no complaint and uttered no lamentations. As for my own passengers, they were eager to make any sacrifice possible; they could not do enough to satisfy their generous impulses.

"People sometimes show selfishness and irritation over minor discomforts and annoyances. But my experience is that when they come face to face with real trouble, they possess qualities far finer than you dreamed they possessed. My verdict on human nature is this: If you scratch deep enough, you come to something good in every man or woman."

Whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew--

Continued from the December Digest (Good Housekeeping, Dec. '23)

William G. Shepherd

OUR Godless public schools seem almost an accident. As a magazine investigator, with the neutrality, I believe, of an unchurched American, I can not discover, in the whole story of religious education in our public school system in the United States, that any state, with one questionable exception, has ever deliberately closed the doors of its schools to religious instruction. None of our laws, and I have gone into them deeply, seems to have been aimed at keeping God and the Bible out of the public schools. It is only by muddled thinking that we Americans admit God and religion into all our institutions except our schools.

"Church and state must be separated," we say. Indeed they must. But religion and state. They are not separated anywhere in the four different forms of American government—except in the public schools. When a President dies, we gather, Jew, Gentile, and Catholic, churches and unchurched, as American citizens, in service before one God. Joint memorial services of this kind for President Harding were held in many parts of the United States. That one God of us all, addressed in such gatherings is, I say, almost by an accident in the progress of our history, a taboo subject in the centers where our children gather daily for education and training in citizenship. We have reached this mistaken taboo, so it seems to this writer, through efforts of our fathers that had quite another purpose.

American forefathers were sick of the European idea of education for the rich and none for the poor. Right there, at that point, they made America different from all the rest of the world.

Beginning with the first settlement in Massachusetts, the town and the church parish were nearly always one and the same thing. This was due, of course, to the religious nature of the settlements. The parish was a church division, the town a civic division. But usually the same men headed both institutions. Public money went for religious instruction, of a sort, in the schools. There was Bible reading and hymn singing and prayer and religious worship in the schools, though teachers were not allowed to teach any special creeds. The creeds, of course, were all Protestant, but special creedal instruction was reserved for the church and home.

Gradually the schools that grew up through the Colonies came to be private schools or schools of certain churches. Education got its urge from religion, and almost every school of any account in those times was a school of some certain religious denomination.

And then, with a sudden rush, came Horace Mann and his idea of an American public school system. Any G. A. R. veteran can look back to the beginning of the public school. The public schools, supported by taxes, began to crowd the private schools and the church schools out of existence. They often absorbed them or took them over. Owners of profitable private schools and heads of religious schools made desperate efforts to save their institutions. Only two states, before 1875, prevented religious teaching in the public schools. The efforts of sectarians to force sectarian teaching into the public school system has caused every state in the Union, with two exceptions, either by constitution, cus-

tom, or law, to abolish religion from the public schools since that date.

When a school in those days was being forced to give way to the oncoming public school, religious leaders made an effort to keep their particular creed alive in the new public school which was taking over pupils of their faith. To them it was a tragedy to see children suddenly cut off from religious instruction in their every-day schools. Of course their idea of religious instruction was creedal; it meant Episcopalian instruction or Catholic instruction or Methodist instruction. But this could not be done. It was to the glory of America that it was not done.

The battle to protect taxes from the churches reached into every American home. It became a presidential issue. President Grant suggested in 1875, "that not one dollar appropriated for the support of schools shall be appropriated for the support of any sectarian school." That idea rang the bell in America. It stood like granite. It stands like granite today.

In all this struggle please note that no one was trying to render the public schools Godless or Bibleless. Americans are protecting their schools against creeds, not against religion. In the fight against creeds, all religion was tossed out through the door of the public schools, especially in the newer states. It is true that some of the older states kept their heads. Wise statesmen here and there found ways of keeping religion in the schools and barring out the church. The state of New Jersey, for example, has never barred Bible reading and non-sectarian religious exercises from its public schools. In that most worldly city in our land, the great sea-resort, Atlantic City, sessions of the public schools are opened daily with Bible reading.

In the state of Massachusetts, also, Bible reading in the public schools is not prohibited—nor in Ohio and in several other states. Yet investigation discloses that in the states

where Bible reading is not prohibited the custom of reading it has never been adopted, or if it has been adopted, is falling off. The Bible—and that is the source of our religion—is out of our educational system; so is religion.

I have recently held long conversations with seven of the prominent clergymen of the country: Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Timothy Stone, S. Parkes Cadman, David James Burrell, John Roach Straton, Charles D. Williams, and Christian F. Reisner. In the course of each interview I made it a point to ask, "Have you ever had any doubts about religion?" Every last man of them answered, in effect: "Oh, yes. In school."

It is the experience of the American youth today not to receive an idea of religion during the process of education, but to lose whatever idea they may have been given of it in their early training. Schools that not only refuse to give religious training to American children but take their religion from them are likely to have a reckoning with America one of these days.

What kind of religion do we want taught in our public schools? That's a fair question. It must be a broad religion, but it can not be too broad. There are nine Bibles in the world: nine great books that teach men, spiritually, how to live. The Bible of our civilization is the Mosaic Bible; in the religion of America we can not go outside this Book.

And how shall we define a religion that may be acceptable to the church and the unchurched, to Protestant, Catholic and Jew?

In the great reading room of the Congressional library at Washington stand eight statues, each with a sentence written over it. One of these statues represents religion. Over it are these words—and they may well be taken as the definition of the religion of America that can be taught to our children in the public schools:

"What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love

mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?"

I have trailed down the man who was selected by officials to choose the inscriptions for all the statues. He is 89 years old. He has become one of America's great men. He bears the degrees of the greatest universities of the world and is eminent in all the world as a leader in education. For 40 years he was President of Harvard University—Charles W. Eliot. His selection from the Bible of that definition of religion for the Congressional library was made after a lifetime of pondering how to define a religion that would suit America and that could be taught to childhood and youth in the public schools, and in the colleges and universities.

Today, if Charles W. Eliot could have his way, American children, in all our public schools, would be taught religion—the religion that he finds in that inscription in the Congressional Library. He believes, after spending a lifetime in the midst of American youth, that common religion is as important as common intelligence. When I quote from him, I am copying what he himself has put down on paper:

"All the religious instruction of my boyhood has disappeared from the free schools of the country. What is the result? Millions of our children go out into the world without having received in their schools any instruction about their duty to God or man, about love to God and neighbor, or about the religious history of the human race. Some of them may have acquired some instruction on these great subjects in their Sunday schools, although that is doubtful in regard to the boys. This ignorance is much commoner now than it was a generation ago, because a majority of the men and women in the United States are now unchurched; have no connection with any church, never go to church, and are indifferent to all churches. Until within a few years ago the American family that never attended church would call in a min-

ister to conduct some sort of religious service at the funeral of one of its members. But this custom is fast disappearing. I suppose we all receive the advertisements of undertakers to the effect that when a death occurs in the family, the head of the family has only to press a button and the undertaker will not only take care of the body, and provide a grave, but also provide a conductor for a service, religious or secular, to take place in a 'chapel' which makes part of the undertaker's establishment.

"What shall we say to these things? Do we not all know—does not each one of us recognize—that religion supplies the great motive power in human life, consecrates the joys of life, and steadies the human soul in disappointment, sorrow, and bereavement?"

It is in the lower schools that religion must be taught, Dr. Eliot believes. He continues: "Character is the object of education. I have seen a steady stream of youth coming to the university, 18 or 19 years old. In almost every instance the character of the youth is determined before he goes to college. That is the all-important thing in this world: Which way do you face, up hill or down? We all of us slip and fall, but we can all of us face the right way, pick ourselves up again, if we fall, and try again. But it does not do to face down hill. You fall farther, and it is harder to get up. Now, that facing is almost invariably determined in a boy before he is 18 years old."

There's an answer to the question of why public school years are the years for religious instruction.

What should be the curriculum for religious instruction in the public schools? It can be worked out. Indeed, Dr. Eliot, I find, in recent years, has been quietly trying to devise and suggest to educators of the nation a plan for religious public school instruction. He believes in a definite schedule of religious study and exercise. But he will not make

his plan public. He feels that America is not ready for it. The pull of public opinion, I believe, would bring out from Dr. Eliot a definite schedule of religious study for American public schools that would suit, in every way, his definition of America's common religion.

There would be Bible reading in his public school curriculum.

"The teacher read one morning," says Dr. Eliot, speaking of his school days, "from the first chapter of Genesis. He closed the book and said, 'Boys, that first sentence in Genesis is the most superb sentence in the English language—'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.'" That remark made an indelible impression on my mind. It is very good for me today."

There would be hymns in his schedule.

"It would be a good day," he said, "when American children can learn in any public school 20 or 30 hymns and tunes which are fit to become the possession of the people—hymns free from dogma, expectant of good rather than evil, and full of praise and gratitude to God and of love of nature and the neighbor."

There will be poetry in this schedule.

"We may be perfectly sure that no child ever got any religion out of a catechism," he says. "Will not a child unconsciously get religion out of poetry, if it is well selected? I have seen the experiment tried in a fair number of instances—and I have never known it to fail."

Religion, crowded out of our free public instruction, can be put back again. In these days of unchurched homes, of a failing Sunday school system, of our out-in-the-open Sunday, the public schools ought to be able to give our children religious instruction. In these days of par-

ents who, themselves, did not receive religious instruction in the public schools, and as a consequence did not receive it anywhere, we may turn naturally to our public schools for religious instruction for our children.

We ought to make it possible, in the entire public school system of America, for a teacher, without running the risk of breaking school rules or the state laws, to be able to answer this question, asked by a pupil:

"Teacher, what does that motto on a quarter mean, 'In God We Trust?'"

There are many public schools in the United States today where teachers, knowing school rules and customs and state laws, would have a right to be dismayed by such a query. . . .

There is a rich, rough-and-ready oil man out in Tulsa, Oklahoma, named Charles Page. He belongs to no church that I know of, and he's not fond of parsons. But when he was a boy, knocking around the world, a Salvation Army girl told him he would have good luck if he gave one-tenth of all his money to God. He was broke then, but he has divided on more than a one-tenth basis for philanthropy ever since. And he thinks he knows why he became rich. He gave his reasons to a friend, one day.

"I've missed striking oil only twice in my lifetime," he said. "You know I divide with the Big Fellow, and He made geology."

Yes, and He made geography, too, and arithmetic, and literature, and all the rest of it; and He made us; and we, with all our different religions and creeds, know it.

America will be a better place if He and knowledge of Him are present in the schoolrooms where America's children prepare for life.

The Reader's Digest is just what I have wanted these many years. In the scope and interest your publication is without a peer.—Elbert J. Smith, 230 Clinton St., Iowa City, Iowa.

The Great Game of Politics--III

Condensed from *The World's Work* (Jan. '24)

Frank R. Kent

THE city boss is the apex of the political machine. Unquestionably, the political bosses and the business giants are the two most concretely powerful groups in the country, and public sentiment is the curb on both of them. Fear of an aroused people keeps the bosses of politics and the bosses of business both within bounds. Of the two, the super-capitalist is the more powerful the country over, but confine them to their respective communities—a single state or a single city—and the political boss stands out supreme.

The typical city boss begins at the bottom and works, scrambles, and fights his way up. Almost always, he begins as a precinct executive. His actual break into politics generally was as a paid messenger, employed by the precinct executive on primary or general election day; often he was too young to vote at the time. The successful machine politician who comes up from the ranks is first of all a fighting type. His whole life is a fight. Further, the instinctive lust for the game has to be in him. The ability to handle men, to make them follow him, through loyalty or fear, or self-interest—that is another trait that has to be born in a boss.

How does the boss work? In the first place, he has his headquarters. Here he sees his district leaders and ward executives. They drop in to get their orders, unload their troubles. They keep him busy. The life blood of his machine is patronage; it is the boss's chief concern. In the average city of between 500,000 to 100,000 population the machine will have from 500 to 1,000 precinct executives, from 20 to 40 ward executives, from 10 to 20 district leaders, and literally innumerable members of party committees, friends of the

leaders, hangers on, men who are useful one way or another, who have got to be cared for. All of these men want jobs on the public payroll. It is a harassing problem for the boss. In a city of about 750,000 there are easily 10,000 places, big and little, under the municipal administration. Always the boss has to pull wires and to fight to get all the jobs he can. Many, of course, are technical positions which must be filled by trained men. Again, no mayor or governor dares, because of public opinion, to turn the city or state government completely over to the machine; indeed, in these days it is, except in rare cases, impossible to elect a mayor or governor who is purely the creature of the machine, or complaisant enough to yield fully to its demands.

Where the boss makes his big money is from the business men and the big business interests who want political protection or political favors. In every city these interests seek the boss and employ him. Sometimes he appears on their payroll, and sometimes he is there but does not appear. His big "pickings" come during the sessions of the State Legislatures. There is no question about that. It has been shown that by reason of the inertia of the voters and their reluctance to participate in the primary elections, the bosses can and do nominate and elect to the legislatures practically whom they please and, in every legislative body in the country, dominate and control a considerable block of deliverable votes. It is in the legislatures that the local business interests are most exposed to attack. All sorts of bills of which they are afraid are introduced. Some of them represent more or less genuine efforts of dele-

gates to regulate, restrict, or raise money for the state; others, merely "bell ringers," framed by the politicians for the purpose of making it necessary for the corporations to deal with them. And sometimes the corporations have little private bills of their own which they want slipped through quietly. In all these matters the boss is needed. Things cannot be slipped through without him knowing it. Nor can the corporations, the racing interests, the moving-picture interests, the department stores, or any business combination often defeat bills aimed to injure them without "taking in" the boss or some legislative agent of the boss.

Two exceptions must be made to this. One is the rare instance when an aroused public opinion, led by the newspapers, forces through or kills measures even when fought by both boss and corporations; the second is the Anti-Saloon League. The Anti-Saloon League can and does in a number of States both pass and defeat bills with the machine and the corporations and the newspapers all on the other side. In some States— notably Ohio—the Anti-Saloon League takes complete control of the Legislature, selects its presiding officers, frames its committees, and runs it, regardless of either or both machines.

The reason it can do this is because it does not hold aloof from politics and primaries, as do the majority of the people who deplore its power, but rolls up its sleeves, gets right down into the political ring and fights the machine tooth and nail. By threats of political vengeance, by promises of support, and through its activity and force becoming in the country districts the balance of power between the parties, it compels the nomination of candidates who will "vote right" on League measures, or extracts pledges from machine candidates that they will do so.

In other words, the League is a political machine, of which the State

superintendent is the boss and the pastors of the supporting churches are ward executives and county leaders. There is, of course, no reason why business men of any city or state, or the Anti-Prohibitionists, or the racing people, or any other group who think the same way, or just the voters who are in favor of clean politics, cannot also organize machines and exert the same kind of influence. But they do not do it; either it takes too much trouble, or it takes too much time and money, or they do not care sufficiently. The point I want to make is that if the legitimate business interests of a state adopted Anti-Saloon League methods, they could drive bosses out of legislative lobbies and pretty nearly starve them to death. It is all a question of energy.

The legislative session is the harvest season with all the bosses, big and little. They all meet there—the big city boss with his big block of voters and the individual county bosses with their little flocks of hand-picked delegates. They trade, and deal, and dicker, join forces and get on opposite sides over the multitudinous measures that touch some financial nerves somewhere. The delegates, supposed to represent the people, are pulled and hauled, bought and sold, individually and in blocks, persuaded or tricked. The independent delegates are always in a small minority. The whole thing is a glorious tangle. All the bosses and lobbyists and lawyers and interested agents sweat and fight and curse and try to get "in on" as many things as they can—make hay while the legislative sun shines. It is a bewildering whirl; but the boss is not bewildered. He keeps close tab on the bills, knows exactly their status all the time, checks up on the roll call, keeps his votes in line, and usually comes out of the session with a practically perfect score—and no one knows how much money.

Nature Study the Key to Knowledge

Condensed from *The Nature Magazine* (Jan. '24)

Thornton W. Burgess

NATURE was the pioneer teacher. She is still the greatest of all teachers. Man was little above the beasts of the field until he became observant of his surroundings, and from these observations endeavored to better his own condition. This was nature study pure and simple, and the beginning of education. Every great advance which the human race has made, from the discovery that fire could be made man's servant to the development of radio, has been through increased understanding of nature's laws. Art began in the first crude attempt of man to reproduce on the walls of his cave images of the things he saw. Music's birth was in his first awakening to a sense of melody in the songs of birds, the sound of running waters, and the whispering of wind-stirred leaves. Poetry came into existence when he first sought to express his awakening sense of the beauty surrounding him.

Interest in living things is inherent, and interest is the primary essential in education. For this reason, if for no other, nature study should begin in the kindergarten. No fairy tale is so wonderful or so fascinating as the springing forth of a living plant from a tiny seed planted in the earth, and its subsequent growth into a sturdy plant developing flowers and ultimately the seeds which shall perpetuate the miracle. No magic can compare with watching a caterpillar spin its cocoon and later emerge an exquisite moth.

There is a psychology in nature study for children which many teachers fail to understand, and which makes it the most perfect vehicle for conveying to the child mind, in a way that is at once understood, prac-

tically all those things which it is desirable to teach. A child will not admit even to himself that any animal or bird has a greater degree of wisdom than himself. Would you teach thrift? Give the child the opportunity to observe the squirrel storing supplies in time of plenty for the period when there is a shortage of food. Would you teach the meaning of love? The birds in the nesting season are living examples which cannot be misunderstood. The wood mouse and the flying squirrel come forth after dark because it is safer for them then. Stories of these timid little wood folk have cured children of all fear of the dark. In their minds there could no longer be entertained fear when these little people found only friendliness in the hours of darkness.

A small boy made a great fuss over having a window raised in his room at night during cold weather. He read some stories of how the muskrat makes provision for the entrance of fresh air into his house of reeds, and from that time on insisted that his window be left open. The beaver is a living example of the joy of constructive work and co-operation. The bees in their hive illustrate without comment how the individual cannot live for himself alone. The chickadee coming to the window shelf, even feeding from the hand, proves that fear cannot exist where there is an instinctive feeling of trust and confidence. The mystery of life becomes clear to even the youngest child as he witnesses the transference of the pollen from the anthers to the stigma of a flower, and it is explained how the two elements unite to form one in the ovary, and there grow into the seed, which

in turn develops into another living plant of the same kind.

These few examples illustrate how nature study can be made and should be made a primary instead of a secondary study in the education of the child. Yet I have met teachers who could see no place for it in the school curriculum. There are none so blind as those who will not see. Nature study is a basic element of education. It is not a fad. It is fundamental. It should be given a far more important place in school work than it now has. It is the golden key to the vast storehouse of knowledge. In this materialistic age we are prone to regard as useless those things which do not contribute to the attainment of the false standard of success which is gauged by wealth. The finer things of life are crowded aside to await the sometime leisure which material success may bring. When that time comes, if it does come, all too often it is too late.

We should open the eyes of the child to the significance of commonplace things. The average child is not going to travel widely—his life is bound to be rather monotonous. If we can give him some appreciation of the wonders of the night sky, of the marvels of flowers and trees, birds and insects, rocks, minerals and the forces that are at work all around him, he will realize in a measure that the commonplace things are very wonderful. He will have at his disposal a constant source of enjoyment and a means of increased culture.

The science teacher can and should train the child in the scientific method of thinking, that is, thinking to correct conclusion on the basis of observed fact. Possibly nowhere else in the field of education is it as easy to do this as it is in science instruction. In the field of science the child can make his own experiments, and on the basis of the facts can reach his own conclusions. It is important to learn how to think scientifically, for there are many problems in life to be solved; and

a safe solution is only achieved when one thinks them through in this scientific way. Of course training in thinking is not confined to science instruction; but science material does give a very exceptional opportunity for training in this process of thinking from the early steps in observation through experiment and hypothesis to the final solution.

The failure to give nature study its proper place in education is largely responsible for the vanishing wild life and forests of today. Many of our birds and mammals are on the verge of extinction. We of today are robbing our children's children of their birthright. And there is but one thing that can be done about it. See to it that the next generation and succeeding generations are nature lovers. The true nature lover is never destructive. Love for the living thing, the bird, the animal, the tree, prevents the impulse to destroy. Country boys have written me that they have given up trapping. No one asked them to. Trapping meant an outdoor activity—and money. But through reading they had become interested in the little fur bearers. They had learned to appreciate the fact that these animals live lives which closely resemble their own. The sense of justice, inherent in every boy, recognized the rights of these little creatures to live their lives as best they could. They had become protectors instead of destroyers.

The boy who in early life learns to understand what a wonderful thing a living tree is, will never thoughtlessly mutilate it. Education is the only thing that will save American wild life. The ignorance of the average person in regard to the most common living thing about him is colossal. We of this generation are already paying heavily for this ignorance. Succeeding generations will pay heavier still in dollars and cents, but still more in joy and recreation made impossible through the destruction of all forms of wild life.

Is the World Going Dry?

Condensed from The Century Magazine (Jan. '24)

Charles Edward Russell

SLOWLY, thoughtful men abroad are coming to see that forces are at work stronger than brewery trusts, stronger even than the ancient habits of races. As such men reflect upon certain manifest conditions in our industrial civilization, the advertised failure of prohibition in America begins to lose its point. In the way alone important to economic Europe, prohibition has not failed in America, but has eminently succeeded. The only test of prohibition that counts is economic, and Europe is getting ready to own, in ways to cause some astonishment, that under such proving American prohibition stands up well.

When the World War broke out, suddenly upon efficiency in production hung Great Britain's life. Newspapers and Parliament discussed the conditions that impeded efficiency, and above everything else and at all times stood out the national drink habit as chief enemy to topmost output. At a time when every second was precious to the national welfare, beer was causing the loss of time equivalent to months. Records kept at munition and other factories showed that week after week normal production was never attained before Wednesday; often the figures for Monday were 22 per cent below the mark, 10 per cent on Tuesday. It was Saturday night and Sunday drink that worked this havoc. Moreover, the noon hour, with its pot of beer, was another disaster. Everywhere the first two hours after luncheon were hours of slackened production, at a time when there were no shells for the western front. Experiments showed that where men could be induced to pass up the beer at noon there was no complaint about

slackened production for the rest of the day.

Whereupon, the Government limited the amount of grain the brewers could have. The extent to which alcohol dropped out of the national cup is easily shown. In 1915, the brewers added 1,669,000 barrels of water to "standard" beer, containing 8 per cent of alcohol; in 1918, 5,269,000 barrels of water, under which dispensation beer had become about as potent as lemonade. In 1914 the brewers used 52,818,000 bushels of barley and malt; in 1918 only 22,265,000 bushels. The nation's consumption of alcohol declined from 92,000,000 gallons in 1913 to 37,000,000 gallons in 1918. Drunkenness almost disappeared from the nation. In 1913, there were 188,877 convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales; in 1918, only 28,075 convictions. In 1913, there were 1,831 deaths from alcoholism; in 1918, 296.

The greater efficiency from decreased drinking was recognized so clearly in Great Britain that, when the war was over, the Government sought to retain the efficiency the war had forced, and to that end has been slowly strangling the liquor traffic. Before the war public houses might open at 5 o'clock in the morning and remain open until midnight, or in some places until an hour later. Today, they are open 8½ hours as against 19 or 20 hours before the war. Formerly, working men had a habit of stopping at a saloon on their way to work of a morning. The new hours cut off that libation. Formerly, many workmen sat late in the saloons. Now 10 o'clock comes, and the house closes before they have a chance to get much fuddled on a drink that has only 4 per cent of

alcohol—less than half as strong as it used to be. In 1914 the tax on beer was \$1.83 a barrel; now it is \$25. A recent act forbids children to go to saloons to buy the family drinks. And these reforms are regarded as only a beginning.

National prohibition began with the United States as a war-time expedient. Experiments with statewide prohibition had shown that everywhere production had been stimulated, production costs reduced. War-time prohibition confirmed all this. Without expense, the yield of mine or factory was enlarged. Employers had the equivalent of an increased force of workers without an increase in the pay-roll. For years augmented efficiency had been much in the thought of every wise manufacturer. Now this was achieved by the simple means of throwing out the beer-can. Under such conditions, the beer-can was out to stay out. It is now known that the largest and most astute employing interests of America largely financed the campaign for the prohibition movement. What in some quarters is equally well known, but has never been published, is that within a few years this same interest has abolished the red-light district in every American city.

In the first year of prohibition the business of the department stores increased 17 per cent, of the chain grocery stores 19 per cent, of the chain 5 and 10 cent stores, 18 per cent. Estimates of the increased revenue for the moving picture business that prohibition has wrought are made in hundreds of millions of dollars. In 620 savings banks the deposits under one year of prohibition increased by \$6,001,750,000 against an increase of \$4,509,000,000 the previous year. The average number of life-insurance policies outstanding in 1917-18 was 12,175,000, and in 1920-21, 17,198,000; the increase in the value of the policies was 55 per cent. No wonder that important business is of the opinion that prohibition is useful to it.

The international struggle for mar-

kets grows every day more intense. For years before the war, the admittedly superior intelligence and skill of the American working-man were offset by the high American wage scale; otherwise American production would have flooded the world. But prohibition, by increasing efficiency, has worked a virtual reduction in the American wage scale. Foreigners are beginning to note this fact, even if we ignore it. A skilled observer of the Department of Commerce found in 1923 that the master producers in all the countries of Europe had reached the conclusion that competition would drive Europe in self-defense to adopt prohibition.

When the British Parliament is in session, hardly a day passes without discussion or mention of the subject. 207 societies in England alone are working for prohibition. Prohibition organizations are startlingly active in Germany. Pupils in German schools are diligently taught the effect of alcoholic beverages upon productive capacity. Prohibition is in full swing in Norway. In Sweden it was defeated in a national referendum by only 30,000 votes, and we in America understand what that means. All Denmark outside of Copenhagen seems to be in favor of it. The Austrian Government is committed to it. Switzerland increasingly debates it. Czechoslovakia and Poland have adopted local option. Belgium has prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors. In Italy many saloons are now closed at 10 o'clock on five nights of the week, and absolutely from noon on Saturday until 10 A. M. Monday. Italian grape-growers are studying other uses for grapes than to make wine. Japan prohibits the sale of liquors to persons under 21 years of age.

While the prohibitionist is urging his favorite reform as the moral salvation of the world, economic pressure, which bothers little about morals, but has greater power, is for quite other reasons driving toward the prohibitionist's ideal of automatic virtue.

Wealth of Forests

Condensed from The North American Review (Jan. '24)

Frank A. Waugh

THE forest tracts set aside by Presidents Cleveland and McKinley were called Forest Reserves; but under Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot they were all officially renamed National Forests. This carefully considered change was meant to set forth another great idea, the complement of conservation; that is, utilization. A forest may be reserved forever, as the Adirondack forests are by the New York State Constitution. Few persons have any conception of the great variety of utilities developed in well-managed forests like those now under Federal administration.

The popular idea of forestry attaches chiefly if not exclusively to the production of lumber. At the present time the National Forests are harvesting about two per cent of the lumber used in this country. Yet they are producing roughly ten per cent of the annual effective timber growth. In other words, on the National forests timber is being grown more rapidly than it is being harvested, while in practically all other forest areas it is being cut very much faster than it is being produced.

That portion of the forest timber which is being harvested is sold on the stump to contractors who cut it, under careful regulations, and manufacture it into lumber and other commodities. Sales are made to the highest bidders and the money turned into the United States Treasury. These sales now produce a revenue of about two million dollars a year.

It will not suffice, however, to think of the lumber industry only in terms of building material. Vast quantities of lumber are used for

furniture, barrels, boxes, toys, matches, toothpicks, shoe pegs, pencils, silos, coffins, and a thousand other manufactured articles of daily use. Millions of cubic feet of wood are used for railroad ties. Next should be remembered the use of pulp wood in the manufacture of paper. All our enormous bulk of newspapers and most of our books grew first in the forests. Now the present supply of pulp paper comes principally from private forests; but as these sources are being rapidly exhausted with no serious effort for their perpetuation it seems certain that more remote supplies now held in the National Forests will be drawn upon in increasing degree. Steps are actually being taken to bring into use large reserves of pulp wood from the National Forests of Alaska. . . . Another group of forest products of which the layman has little conception includes many valuable commodities secured by distillation. This list includes wood alcohol, acetone, the basis of modern gunpowder, and charcoal.

Certainly few persons think of beef, mutton and wool as forest products, yet at the present moment the National Forests are harvesting more meat and wool than lumber. Within the forest boundaries are millions of acres of grazing land, some good, some poor. These ranges are grazed under competent supervision, the fees to the amount of approximately two and a half million dollars a year being returned to the Treasury as forest income. The carrying capacity of these ranges has been greatly increased under government administration. At the present time sheep, cattle, horses, goats and swine to the number of some 16,000,000 yearly harvest the forage crop and

convert it into beef, mutton, wool, and shoe leather.

The forests exerts a large measure of control upon water, and the equalization thus effected is important to manufacture, navigation and agriculture. In some sections water is required for irrigation over large areas. The domestic water supply for 1,200 cities and towns also comes from the National Forest areas. It will readily appear that, if a reasonable cash valuation were placed upon the water thus used, the forests would have to be credited with several millions of dollars not now shown on the government balance sheet; for this water is delivered to the users without a cent of return to the Federal forest owners.

The National Forests contain an enormous undeveloped capital of water power, estimated at about one-fourth the amount to be found in the entire United States. If one pictures therefore the multifarious role of water in forest economy—the regulation of stream flow for navigation and manufacture, the supply of water for irrigation, the immeasurably valuable supplies for domestic uses, and the enormous possibilities of water power development—one must conclude that water is a forest product hardly second in value to timber itself.

Unquestionably the first forests ever set aside as such were used for the royal chase. That is, they were established for the protection of fish and game. These utilities still have substantial value and possibilities far beyond present American practice. In short, fish and game, which are important now chiefly as sources of recreation, may yet be made to yield very considerable additions to our national food supply.

It hardly needs to be said that the best hunting and fishing in the country is found in the National Forests, since these forests contain the largest areas of wild land and the best of the mountain lakes and streams. In co-operation with the United States Bureau of Fisheries and the various State fish and game commissions,

these streams are stocked with fish, and as much is done as circumstances allow for the protection of game. Several game refuges have been delimited within the forest areas and are protected by joint action of the United States Forest Service and the various State authorities.

Along with hunting and fishing go camping, hiking, mountain climbing and other outdoor sports. More than 4,000,000 persons annually visit the National Forests for such purposes. The ultimate human value of all this recreation can only be guessed, but it has a market value reaching well into millions of dollars.

The value of forests as reservoirs of health has never been fully appreciated. In fact this function of the forest has hardly received serious study. Yet when Dr. Detweiler established the first successful outdoor sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis he settled in the Black Forest of Baden, and he and his associates called their treatment the "forest cure." In this country the famous work of Dr. Trudeau in the Adirondacks might be called the "forest cure" with equal justice, for we do believe that the quiet outdoor spaces of the woods are good for soul and body, and that an environment bearing the forest character is especially helpful in the treatment of tuberculosis, nervous disorders and other maladies in which environment, instead of drugs, incontestably plays a leading role.

The National Forests have already supplied sites for various sanatoria and health camps, and it may reasonably be predicted that these forest uses will be largely multiplied in the future. There have also been established several recreation camps and summerschools on the National Forest areas, all of which have considerable value from the standpoints both of health and education.

The major utilities of the forest may thus, roughly speaking, be regarded of somewhat equal value, and any one of them is worth enough to justify the entire enterprise.

Reader's Digest Service

Your Money

Condensed from The Saturday Evening Post (Jan. 5, '24)

An Interview with A. W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury

THE surtax is a progressively increasing tax which runs from 1 per cent all the way to 50 per cent. It is based on the idea that people should be taxed according to their ability to pay. But the trouble is that it isn't working out that way. We are losing the revenue and at the same time forcing into wrong channels the funds that should be used in productive enterprises. History has shown that there is always a point of diminishing returns beyond which taxes cannot be pushed, if the revenue receipts are to be maintained.

"Indeed, the subject of taxation cannot be viewed as affecting only the incomes of the 7,500,000 income-tax payers. Taxes are inseparably interwoven with business conditions and business development. They are ultimately felt by the consumers—the entire 110,000,000 people in America.

"Capital today is not working and producing revenue as it should. For instance, in 1916 there were 1,296 persons in the United States who on their income-tax returns showed that they were receiving a taxable income of \$300,000 a year or over. But in 1921 the number of persons in this group had dwindled to 246, and the total amount of their taxable income from dividends and interest on investments amounted to only \$155,000,000, as against \$706,000,000 in 1916. And that, despite the fact that the American people, as a whole, produced much less income in 1916 than they have this past year. In other words, it is an actual fact that the Government gets less money under high surtax rates than under lower rates.

"Henry Ford has told us how many more automobiles he was able to sell

every time he reduced the price. I have the same idea that we could get people to buy taxable securities in very much larger volume instead of tax exempts if we were to reduce the surtaxes to the scale reaching to a 25 per cent maximum as compared with a scale reaching to a 50 per cent maximum. I do not believe that many people are evading income taxes illegally. The great bulk of the people are inherently honest. What really happens is that investors so far as possible are buying the bonds of states and cities which under the Federal Constitution at present cannot be taxed by the national Government. Fully \$11,000,000,000 worth of such securities are outstanding. The city of New York alone has a debt of more than \$1,000,000,000, and yet before the World War the entire public debt of the United States wasn't so large as that. The ease with which states, counties and towns can borrow has its serious disadvantages. But even this is not so dangerous to our economic system as the ill effects of a wrong system of taxation.

"I could give dozens of illustrations. I heard lately of a man who has a 220-acre tract of coal land adjoining a going mine. The owners of the mine wanted to lease it. But the man didn't make a deal, because his surtax rate was such that he would have to pay more than half of the income from the lease to the Government. Meanwhile the business isn't done and the Government gets no revenue. Another man inherited a vacant lot, and pays high city taxes. The business firm adjacent needs more space. The man was offered a splendid proposition if he would build on the lot. But when he figured he would have to pay 58 per cent of the in-

come to the Government, what appeared to be a 7 per cent investment was cut down to 3 per cent. So he reasoned that he could do much better by putting the cost of the building out at 4.25 per cent in city bonds that were tax exempt. As a result, all the people engaged in the building business were deprived of work, and the Government itself was deprived of the revenue which the transaction would have made available had the surtax rate been lower.

"Such a situation bears down on everybody. The people who have these high surtaxes cannot be persuaded to put their money into productive business investments. They build no houses; hence the housing shortage and high rents. Or, take the railroads. Before the era of high surtaxes they did not have to offer more than 4.5 for money necessary for new development. Today they must pay about 6 per cent, because each taxpayer figures out how much his surtax will take and the resulting figure does not always compare favorably with the yield of non-taxable investments. As a consequence of increased operating and capital charges the railroads are compelled to charge higher rates for passengers and freight, and in the end the cost of living is materially increased.

"The Government itself suffers from the high cost of borrowing. As its war bonds come due periodically, it must borrow again from the country at large. Thus the Government itself has to compete for the money that is in the hands of prospective investors. The interest on government securities is also subject to surtaxes, and when the tax is figured the Government's offering doesn't attract most of the people with capital to lend, which consequently tends to increase the cost of government borrowing. If this item could be reduced it would mean a saving which could be passed on to the taxpayers. During the year 1923 fully 28.5 per cent of all money received by the Government from all sources

was paid out in the form of interest on the public debt.

"Groups of investment distributors are constantly soliciting from counties and cities, urging them to issue bonds. They point to expenditures that might perhaps in normal course not be made, but which are considered because the investment agencies say money is easy to obtain. Local political influences frequently get to work and the contractors who want the business help to persuade the local authorities that they should go into debt simply because the money is obtainable. This uses up capital in unproductive expenditure, places a debt on future generations, raises local land and farm taxes. The borrowings of states, counties and municipal agents have been stimulated to such an extent that the aggregate interest, and therefore the aggregate taxes, have increased to a point where they represent a serious burden. It is a vicious system.

"The practical answer is to bring the surtax rates down to a point where it will be worth while for the investor to put his money into productive channels instead of buying tax-exempt securities. The Administration has recommended, of course, that a constitutional amendment be passed by Congress and adopted by the several states abolishing this exemption of the income from state and city bonds from Federal taxation, but that will take time. And besides, it could not legally affect the bonds already issued. The remedy lies in the reduction of high surtaxes and the recognition by the people of the burdens thrown upon them by the increased borrowings of the state and municipal governments."

The Mellon plan is calculated to stimulate the business of the country by instilling at once confidence in the future and encouraging business men on all sides to go ahead with the expansion they felt American industry needed. And, so far as the mass of taxpayers are concerned, they would feel the effects of an improved situation in countless ways.

The Ten Greatest Inventors

Condensed from Popular Science Monthly (Dec. '23)

John S. Seymour, Formerly U. S. Commissioner of Patents

AMONG the immortals of modern invention Eli Whitney was the pioneer, not only because he invented the cotton gin in 1793, but because he led the way in a development from which most great manufacturing enterprises of today draw their life blood—the standardization of parts. Firearms were the principal mechanical contrivances of Whitney's day. They were made almost entirely by hand, and no two corresponding parts were exactly alike. Whitney was the first to realize that by making duplicate parts interchangeable for repairs, an appalling waste in material and labor would be eliminated. In achieving this end, he paved the way for the quantity production of watches, motor cars, and thousands of mechanical articles in use today.

Whitney's invention of the cotton gin was original and useful and basic. The cotton that we use today in myriad forms and fabrics, would not be ours in the huge quantities we need and at prices we can afford to pay had not Whitney's genius prepared and lighted the way.

2. To Charles Goodyear we owe our multifarious use of rubber—waterproof shoes and clothing, fire hose, combs, insulation for electric wires, rubber tires, and even golf balls. Prior to Goodyear, the treatment of rubber was primitive, faulty and unsatisfactory. In hot weather the rubber became too soft. In cold weather it was too hard. Daniel Webster, describing his experience with a rubber cloak and hat, made prior to Goodyear's discoveries, said: "I put the cloak outdoors one cold day, and it stood alone. This interested me and I tried placing the hat on the top of the coat. The effect was strikingly lifelike and passers-by, seeing the

effigy on the outside, thought it was myself and halled me in a neighborly fashion."

Chance played a part in Goodyear's success. He accidentally placed a piece of rubber mixed with sulphur on the kitchen stove. Instead of melting in contact with the hot iron, the mixture became hard. Subjecting the hardened specimen to further heat altered it not a bit, nor did it lose its flexibility when left outside the house in the winter air until morning. The problem of vulcanizing rubber was solved and Charles Goodyear earned his place among the great pathfinders of human progress.

3. A chance conversation played its part in furnishing the world with the electric telegraph, uniting the ends of the earth. At the age of 40, Samuel F. B. Morse was a successful artist. Returning from Europe in 1832, after a trip abroad to widen his knowledge of art, he heard a fellow passenger describing a recent electrical experiment. An electric current had been passed through a chain and bright flashes of light were visible among the links. To Morse, though untrained in science, occurred instantly the thought, "If electricity can be made visible it can be employed to carry messages." Before the ship reached New York, Morse had evolved the general scheme of the Morse Code, and had even named the invention he intended to make some day, the "telegraph." As he left the ship he said to the captain, "If you hear of the 'telegraph' some day as the wonder of the world, remember that the discovery was made on your ship."

In January, 1838, his first message was clicked off over three miles of wire stretched about the room in which he worked with his associate,

Alfred Vall. On May 1, 1844, when the Baltimore and Washington line had been completed, Morse signalled the nomination of Clay for President to the national capital, where the news was received with amazement. Morse lived to the age of 81, and saw the earth engirdled with wires. No man holds a more secure place among the great.

4. Alexander Graham Bell is the real father of the telephone, while Reis, Edison and others are supporting contributors. It is incorrect to say that the telephone transmits speech. It transmits only a small, silent, continuous electric current and thereby at the receiving end speech is reproduced by the vibrations of a diaphragm. In his application for his fundamental patent in 1876, Bell said nothing about transmitting speech nor reproducing speech at a distant point; his invention up to then was concerned with the reproduction of pitch and music. Then some one accidentally spoke into the transmitter and to the astonishment of all, the words were reproduced at the receiving station. The telephone was complete before it was known that it could reproduce speech. Once regarded as a toy, it has experienced an amazing growth, more intensive in America than anywhere else. Today there are 14,000,000 telephones in the United States averaging 35,000,000 messages a day.

5. Through the reaper of Cyrus Hall McCormick the world gets its bread. Yet when this machine was first exhibited at the World's Fair in London, the public smiled dubiously

and the London "Times" ridiculed the contrivance as "a cross between a circus chariot, a wheelbarrow, and a flying machine."

McCormick's father had tried to develop a reaping machine and the son began work on a reaper during his boyhood days. By 1831 the younger McCormick had developed a machine that cut six acres of oats in one afternoon—equivalent to the work of six men with the scythe. Forty-six other inventors before McCormick had attempted to develop a mechanical harvester and had failed. McCormick levelled the obstacles and made a device that was revolutionary and epochal. The descendants of his first reaper still harvest the grain crops of the world.

6. Circumstances were a powerful factor in the invention of the sewing machine, the greatest of all labor savers for the home. Elias Howe was lame and sickly. His wife contributed to the family income by sewing. Unable, because of his health, to relieve her from her irksome labor, Howe sought to lighten it by devising a machine. He made use of the shuttle with which he had become familiar in working with the looms of the mills. At last he evolved a lockstitch from the shuttle and gave the world the first successful sewing machine in April, 1845. The number of useful articles made cheap and available by the sewing machine runs into the thousands. Few inventors of all time have performed a more useful work than Elias Howe.

(To be continued)

Let me say that your little magazine fills a big place. I like your discrimination in the choice of articles and the form in which the synopses appear. Congratulations on the successful way in which you are doing a good work.—Otto H. Houser, 1229 Gral Luna, Manila, P. I.

On Picket Duty

Condensed from The Forum (Dec. '23)

Annie Marion MacLean

"THEY'S raisin' hell up there with strikin' an' scabbin', and we've got orders from the p'lice to keep 'way from there," a cabby informed me. That being the case, I walked two miles and finally found my friend Jane Gower in her tiny office. I went to Monroe to meet her because she was with rare pluck leading an industrial fight in that town. Fifteen hundred women rallied around her banner, and things were lively where the rallying went on.

Several women and two men were in the little room, and Jane introduced me: "Folks, here's Hannah Lane, come to help us an' learn a few things."

"Come over by the stove. Ain't ya most froze?" said a little girl in welcome. She had just come in to report on the pickets. "P'raps you'd like to go pickettin', Miss Lane," said Jane Gower. "You can find out what's goin' on later."

The trouble in Monroe was in the collar industry, and one group of women, the starchers, had struck because of a sharp reduction in wages consequent upon the introduction of a labor saving device, and many others had joined in a sympathetic strike. As is often the case, a virile union had grown out of the struggle, and was fighting hard against the strike-breakers, though when I arrived on the scene it was with police-clipped wings. The fight had gone on for weeks, and the strike benefit was pitifully small, certainly not enough to keep bodies, not to mention souls, together during the biting winter weather. The factories were running full time with hundreds of new operatives whose work did not seem to be entirely satisfactory, judging from the com-

plaints coming from the "trade." Training people took time, and the factory ranks were ever being depleted by new employees joining the strikers.

Starching collars is a skilled trade. At the time of which I am speaking there was only one place in the country where it could be well done, and that was in Monroe. The company said the starching machines would enable the starchers to do three or four times as much work in a day as they did by the hand method, and though the rate was cut, the girls were assured they would make more than before. "It's rotten lies," said Jane Gower. "We can't make half as much." This was a serious matter for Jane and her friends; they had starched collars for years, and had acquired great skill. They had helped in no small way to make the reputation of Monroe's chief product, yet they were being brushed aside for a machine no more important looking than an egg beater. I felt then the utter futility of the struggle, but I felt, too, the manifest unfairness of a system which threw the burden of improvements on those least able to bear them.

In a day or two Jane and I planned that I should seek work as a "scab" and see for myself what was going on inside. It was a simple matter to get work, since there were many strangers on a similar errand in town. Moreover there was no danger; guards were everywhere, although the strikers were then law-abiding. Some of them had served jail sentences earlier in the struggle, but had wisely decided that a striker at large was worth a dozen in jail. The strike-breakers were not so well behaved. I was outside one factory during the lunch hour

one day, and the scabs, well guarded and provided with a free lunch by the company, spent their spare time hurling at us the most disrespectful language they could command while we walked back and forth in the February slush. Wouldn't you feel, at the very least, like running your tongue out at a girl who called you a "rotten hellcat," whatever that may be? There are indignities which seem more than the human heart can bear. In addition, they threw down spit balls and crusts of bread. I can see those grinning creatures yet; they had our jobs, yet taunted and mocked us.

When I was on the inside up at the other end of town, the strikers seemed timid. There is something terribly grim about industrial warfare. Everybody in a free land undoubtedly has the right to work, yet there is nothing but hate in your heart when you see another take the job you left for a principle. The principle in Monroe was that a worker has a right to a living wage. Labor saving devices and piece rates were technicalities.

During my visit in Monroe, I lived with a striker, Mrs. Ryan—a widow with two small children. She had three comfortless, but clean rear rooms over a meat shop. The family had, the first morning, tactfully eaten earlier than I so that I might not be embarrassed by their scanty rations. Such innate courtesy was inspiring, but somewhat upsetting to the emotions. That mother could have been earning about \$12 a week at her trade instead of eking out an existence on \$3, if she had been willing to forsake her friends; but she was so sure of the righteousness of her cause that she sacrificed herself and her children unflinchingly. She had very definite ideas about fighting and starving till the last ditch was won.

When we started out for picket duty the first morning I was with Mrs. Ryan and—the eldest child afoot,—the youngest in my arms. The children proved to be good pub-

licity for the cause. Even a policeman said: "'Stoo cold to hev yer kid out," and that arch fiend, a scab, tossed a bag of peanuts out of a window, "fer the kid."

A tragic aspect of industrial struggles is the readiness with which well-to-do-citizens believe the worst of the poor who have staked their all in the contest. I called on several casual acquaintances in the town, and told them I was there trying to learn something about the strike. They proceeded to give me a version quite as distorted and less sincere than the one I got at "headquarters." One dear, Christian lady said Jane Gower should be lynched, and trade unionists made to serve jail sentences.

The idea of the employers in Monroe in dealing with women was to treat them like naughty children, and they never quite recovered from the feeling of grieved surprise when they found that the formula did not work. "Treatin' me like a child," said Jane, "me that has a fam'ly consistin' of a mother an' me drunken brother's three children to take care of. I'll teach 'em!" One morning Jane and I were together when we came face to face with a man Jane had known for years and who was then taking a woman's job in one of the factories. She turned upon him like a fury and hissed "Scab!" with more venom than I had ever before heard put into a single word. I expected to see the two fall in deadly combat. If life in the trenches is more exciting than those moments are, I want to be forever far from the firing line.

The cause was a lost one for those brave women; it was lost from the beginning. It seems too bad that so much sincere activity had to be futile. There was vituperation on both sides, and accusation just and unjust. Alien hands tend the machines today and alien tongues talk savagely about rates. Jane Gower is asleep now on a hillside, but while she lived she did what she thought was right for the women in her trade.

Labor Unions at the Danger Line

Continued from December Digest (Atlantic Monthly, Dec. '23)

F. Lauriston Bullard

AT the end of a prolonged struggle in Chicago the building unions accepted Judge Landis as an arbitrator and agreed to abide by his award. He scrapped all the "make work" rules. He denied the unions the right to "own" both the foreman and the job steward, a system which left the owner with no representative on the building he was paying for. The unions flinched, evaded, and nine flatly refused to abide by their pledge; only four stood loyally by their word.

The closed-shop system in New York City afforded the opportunity for such a combination with certain contracting groups for purposes of profiteering as have hardly been equaled in this country. One union was found to be a unique combination of employee and employer in the same organization, creating a deplorable condition of extravagance. Where two unions existed in the same craft, one was disclosed to be merely a dummy, a tool of the contractors, maintained to foment strikes. More than a year ago the 19 definite demands of Lockwood Committee won the unanimous support of the public. The unions capitulated, and agreed to inaugurate the proposed reforms. Yet in its final report the Committee had to announce that, while some unions had complied in large measure with the requirements, the more important unions had refused to conform, and the abominations still continue.

The builder pays the bills for labor and materials and collects from the man who commissions him to execute the job. Building practices may be wantonly wasteful, but they have no immediate relevancy to the contractor's welfare. He tends therefore to compromise. A cost-plus contract is

eminently desirable; it leaves him little to worry about. If he reaches an "understanding" with Labor for mutual advantage, he only succumbs to a very human temptation. Nowhere else in the whole industrial field is the need for simple honesty so great—and nowhere else is it so rare.

The United Mine Workers, affiliated with the Federation, have sought for years to complete the unionization of the bituminous fields. Open warfare several times has ensued. Shootings and dynamiting, the destruction of much property, armed marches, ambushes, the loss of many lives, belong in the record. It is known that the union paid \$400,000 for the destruction of the Willis Branch mine in West Virginia and that in Illinois alone it raised \$875,000 as a Herrin "defense fund." That the subordinate officials and members of the United Mine Workers defended the Herrin tragedy with brazen audacity is further shown by the fact that they have since bought the Herrin mine and have paid therefore \$729,000.

A striking example of conflict between union advantage and public interest appears in that extraordinary demonstration of the influence of railway labor which the country witnessed in war time when the leaders of the Brotherhoods held a stop watch over Congress and obtained the Adamson Law. I do not know whether the charge is true that the strike ballots read in such a way as to prevent the men from expressing their sentiments on the arbitration alternative. But I am sure that when the usually astute leaders of the five railway unions made the enormous blunder of ordering again a strike vote in September, 1921, the presi-

dent of one of the Brotherhoods left a sick-bed to tell the others that "they were trying to kid the men into thinking they were voting on time-and-a-half by putting out a lot of camouflage," and that he was prepared to send out "a separate ballot that would tell the truth."

The shop crafts and other unions affiliated with the Federation have persisted in opposing the reforms in the interest of economy and efficiency which were costing many millions a year. The National Agreements authorized by the Railroad Administration simply capitalized waste. All the tales of the ridiculous and extravagant practices prevalent in the building trades can be duplicated in the railway shops. Two years ago these agreements were abolished. The Labor Board directed the crafts and the roads to make individual agreements, the national rules to remain in force meantime. I am informed by railway presidents that the men obstructed the needed reforms in every possible way, a suggestive illustration of the difficulty of procuring labor reforms from inside the unions. What negotiation could not do the shop-crafts' strike of last year in some measure accomplished. The roads which substituted new men made new rules: one New England line has 7 shop rules instead of 181. But many of the roads that compromised with their striking employees find themselves almost as inextricably entangled as four years ago and have had to give additional increases in wages.

Further to illustrate the tendency of unionism to defend limitation of production, I may cite the strike of two years ago in the ladies' cloak and suit trade of New York City. The real question in this case was whether the industry must continue to pay the boom wages of the 1920 "peak" for a notoriously inefficient production. The union objected both to decrease of wages and to increase of output. At the time of the strike a joint committee of employees and employers was seeking a way out of the seeming impasse.

That was a local clash, but the conflict involved a vital issue in all industry, that of adequate production for an accepted wage. Whether upon week-work or piecework, the prosperity of a business is bound up with commensurate output. A union that tolerates underproduction works to the detriment of its own members, for their welfare is interwoven with the prosperity of the industry. Competition is so keen in the manufacture of cloaks and suits that seemingly trivial money differences in labor costs decide whether Baltimore, Rochester, or New York shall make the goods and get the business.

The most recent and one of the most flagrant examples of labor-union indifference to the orderly processes which enable business, industry, and society in general to function is the strike of the newspaper pressmen of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Mr. Gompers himself declares that strike "an awful blunder." He telegraphed a message which distinctly does him credit, asking: "If plighted faith of organized Labor is given to an agreement with employers, or if, while negotiations to reach an agreement are pending, the members enter upon a strike, how can we expect any agreements to be reached between organized Labor and employers?"

A new contract was in process of peaceful negotiation between the President and Directors of the International Pressmen's Union and the Publishers' Association. One vexed difference had just been amicably adjusted. A committee of local union pressmen arranged to present this proposition to the union at a meeting called for September 17. The committee failed to keep the appointment, whereupon less than 300 pressmen of a union of 2,000 members voted to strike, and at five minutes after midnight, an hour when the press-room of a metropolitan newspaper is a place of intense activity, all the pressmen, except some foremen and assistant foremen, quit work on practically every newspaper

(Continued 2d column, page 685)

As I Like It

Condensed from Scribner's Magazine (Jan. '24)

William Lyon Phelps

THERE is no doubt that in recent years there has been an enormous advance in the prestige of the cat. The silent, graceful creature that Shylock (of all people) called affectionately the "harmless, necessary cat," has always been more or less petted by children; but men and women have often regarded him with aversion as a bird-murderer, or else as a selfish, stupid, somnolent non-entity. But in the twentieth century the cat has begun to receive an increasing tribute of intellectual respect; he is the hero of books and stories; Sunday-supplement photographs display his beauty. There is every evidence that at last the cat is coming into his own. I view the social rise of the cat with elation, for I have always been an ardent idolater. I have always envied the professionals who enter the cages of lions and tigers; it must be wonderful to stroke a cat eight feet long. Such glorious tracts of fur!

The cat is the most beautiful and graceful of all domestic animals. Although he takes only a hundredth as much exercise as a dog, he is always in perfect condition. Who ever saw a housemaid exercising a cat? There is no other beast who from a position of absolute relaxation can spring with accuracy and with no preliminary motion. He does not have to wind up like a baseball pitcher, or get "set"; he transmutes potential into kinetic energy with no visible effort.

When a cat aims at the top of a fence or the surface of a table, he usually succeeds at the first attempt, unlike the dog, who tries five or six times and continues to try after the impossibility of attainment has been quite clearly demonstrated. The cat's

economy of effort is as remarkable as his judgment of distance; you cannot persuade him to try for any mark manifestly beyond his reach. The cat catches birds on the ground by outguessing them, and then by a motion swifter than wings; but if the bird rises in the air, the cat makes no attempt at pursuit, which he knows to be both futile and undignified; the dog, on the other hand, will chase after flying birds so long as he is able to run, although his percentage of hits is zero.

The amazing activity of the cat is delicately balanced by his capacity for relaxation. I believe that every household should contain a cat, not only for decorative and domestic values, but because the cat in quiescence is both a rebuke and an inspiration to irritable, tense, restless, and tortured men and women. In spite of the fact that there are a hundred books published every year in which human beings are told to "relax," very few men, women, or children have mastered the elementary principles of repose. The bodies of children and the minds of adults keep immobile only by conscious and continuous effort, which is a condition very different from rest; we try just as hard to rest as we try to keep going. I have seen the statement that when the ordinary mortal gets into bed, he does not really relax; he tries to hold the bed down. Many in bed will discover that they have their fists clenched.

Now when the cat decides to take his repose, he not only lies down; he pours his body out on the floor like a glass of water. It is restful merely to behold him. The cat seems to put to the householder every day the Emersonian question—"Why so hot, little man?"

Of course I am devoted to dogs; and for the last 30 years there has always been in my house an Irish setter. But while the average dog is a good fellow and jolly companion, he does not compare in intellectual power with the cat. Moreover, the cat has a strong will and a patience that is almost divine. If the cat wishes to leave the room, he makes no fuss about it, but selects a position near the door; you may push him back 20 times but you cannot change his purpose; his intention is to leave at the earliest opportunity, and he knows that opportunities come to those who are ready. He pretends a lack of interest and seems to have dismissed the subject from his mind, but if some one opens the door, the cat departs.

The patience of the cat in hunting is one reason he seldom returns empty-clawed. The dog will show the highest enthusiasm over a hole in the ground; he will bark, and dig madly with his paws; but unless something happens within five minutes, his excitement cools; he goes away and forgets all about it. If a cat decides that there is game in a certain spot, he does not give himself away by becoming frantic; he simply waits for the prey to make the first move, and he can outwait any other living thing.

One reason men have always liked dogs is because the dog flatters men with such fawning servility; every man everywhere finds it extremely agreeable to be greeted by his dog with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. But the devotion of the dog has been greatly exaggerated. What a dog really wants is excitement. He is easily bored, cannot amuse himself, and therefore demands entertainment. The dog's ideal is a life of active uselessness. That the dog is devoted only to his master is a colossal myth. He is devoted to anyone who will do what he wants. I had to be thoroughly and repeatedly disillusioned before I would believe this. My first dog was a noble Irish setter

who was apparently so devoted to me that he could not bear me out of sight; he paid no attention to any one else; if I left the room for only a moment, he instantly rose and followed me. I was quite proud of this, and thought what a loyal, faithful creature he was. But one day I fell into a sickness, and had to stay in bed for two weeks. For an hour or so on the first day the dog remained in the room with me. Now there were other men in the house. One of them took the dog for a walk, and alienated his affections. The dog never came near me until I had recovered and was able to entertain him again.

A dog cannot be happy without human companionship, because he can neither hunt nor play by himself. A stranger with a gun can take any hunting-dog away from his gunless owner. The average dog loves amusement more than he loves any man; indeed he loves men because they provide him with that excitement which he finds necessary to happiness.

Yet there is something wrong with a man who does not love a dog. How can one help loving a creature who is so responsive, so demonstrative? Truth alone compels me to say that in dignity and neatness he does not compare with the cat. He is a bully good fellow; he leaps at you, places his muddy paws on your shirt-bosom, and is not satisfied after swimming unless he can shake himself on your impeccability. Indoors he wags his tail violently, cheerfully knocking down tables, vases, and various objects. The cat, on the other hand, shows his affection by rubbing gently against your ankles, and he will spring from a table to a narrow shelf covered with fragile objects without disturbing anything. His extraordinary mental and physical poise is shown by the fact that he can sleep with absolute assurance on the top of a fence only two inches broad, or even far aloft on the thin branch of a tree.

Great Gains from the Great War

James Wallace

SOME papers of late would have us believe that the war was a great tragedy out of which little or no good came. Thus a weekly of Chicago in a recent issue, says:

The war, as we see it now, was so ineffectual in results having any relation to the aims for which it was alleged to be waged, that a wave of disillusionment has swept over the whole nation. This estimate of the great tragedy is no longer the judgment of liberalism, but of the most conservative secular press as well.

Nothing gained by the great war? Let us see.

Is it nothing that 29,000,000 Poles were emancipated from the three detested dynasties that had destroyed their liberty over a century ago and were enabled to organize themselves under a popular government of their own choice and making? Nothing, that 3,500,000 Finlanders, as a result of the war, were brought from under the iron heel of czarism and enabled to join the brotherhood of democracies? Nothing, that 13,000,000 Czecho-Slovaks were delivered from the reactionary rule of Austria-Hungary and now have their aspirations met in a republic modeled in many respects after that of the United States? Nothing, that as the result of the religious liberty they now enjoy, more than a million of these brainy people have already entered or organized churches of their own choice?

It is nothing that, as a result of the war, the Jugo-Slavs were united under one government, that the tyranny that made them for long years a "milch cow" to Austria and that denied them their just right of access to the Adriatic sea was forever broken? Is it nothing that the Italians of Trieste and of the Trentino won their just right of union with their own people of Italy?

Is it nothing that that imperious Prussian military caste has been dis-

placed by the German republic? Is it nothing that the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria-Hungary, Europe's hoariest embodiment of political reaction, is no more? Nothing, that the dynasty of the Romanoffs—that last and greatest stronghold of absolutism in Europe—as a result of the war has disappeared from the earth? How many hundred years of pacifism would it have taken to cure these dynasties of their incorrigible adherence to absolutism?

Is it nothing that Alsace-Lorraine were rescued from the enforced rule of Germany and returned to France; to whose government the masses of the people were attached, as proved by the investigations covering many months, of experts appointed by President Wilson? Is it nothing that Palestine was snatched by the victories of General Allenby from the bloody hands of the Turks and put under the sovereignty of Great Britain? Nothing, that Damascus and all Syria were emancipated from the rule of the Turkish butchers and put under the over-lordship of France, which, whatever its faults, is infinitely better than that of the bloody Turks? Nothing, that all Arabia through the great war was lost to Turkey? Egypt, too, and the Tigro-Euphrates valley? Nothing, that the populations subject to the barbarous rule of the Turk were reduced by the war from 20,000,000 to 6,000,000 and the area from 600,000 square miles to 175,000?

Is it nothing that, among the results of the war, the Danes of northern Schleswig were permitted to reunite themselves with the land of their choice, whence they had been wrenched by Germany in 1864? Is it nothing that Germany had to yield her throttle hold on China at Kiaochow and get out?

Is it nothing that 54 nations have entered a league "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security?" Nothing, that these nations have agreed to seek these great ends by the maintenance of justice, respect for all treaty obligations, establishment of international law, abolition of secret treaties, reduction of armaments, etc. Nothing, that the Alland Islands controversy of 100 years' standing between Sweden and Russia, and since the war, between Sweden and Finland, has been settled? Nothing, that, growing out of the war, a world court has been organized that for the first time in history commands the support of states small and large alike? Is it nothing that five great nations have agreed to a reduction of navies and an ending of rivalry in the building of warships—an achievement entirely impossible but for the defeat of Germany, for years the corypheus of opposition to the limitation of armaments?

This is only a partial list of the glorious results of the great war. Never in any war, perhaps not in any five wars, has justice had so many triumphs. There are some sore spots in Europe, of course, but weigh well the great facts and it will appear that Europe today rests on a foundation of justice, vastly broader and deeper than she has ever known before. Now, there is real ground to hope that a great beginning has been made for a United States of Europe. Before the war such an idea was chimerical.

Count the emancipated peoples in Denmark, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Greece, France (Alsace-Lorraine), Palestine, Syria, China, not to speak of Arabia and Mesopotamia—when in any war, in any century, have freedom and justice had so many triumphs?

The holding of these peoples in duress by governments which they hated constituted a body of problems before which pacifism was and would have been as helpless as Hen-

ry Ford's peace ship that was to "get the soldiers out of the trenches before Christmas."

The trouble with pacifism as a sole reliance for peace is that it cannot be preached and applied where it is most needed. Try it on the military men of Prussia, who are lying in wait for an opportune time to overthrow the German republic. Try it on the bolsheviks, who with a million men in arms await an opportunity to help set up communism in Germany. Try it on Kemal Pasha and his bloody henchmen, whose cardinal political principle for many years has been that Asia Minor must be Turkified by butchering all the Greeks and Armenians living therein. Try it on the Kurds, who for ages have made annual raids down into the Plains of Persia and Turkey for plunder and rapine. Exercise a little historic imagination and consider how pacifism would have worked on old Xerxes when planning the invasion of Greece and what would have become of that country and Europe if the heroes of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea had blindly put their trust in such teaching. The pious and the good may accept pacifism, but what about the Alexanders, the Napoleons, the Fredericks the Great, the Abdul Hamids, who regard pacifism as cowardly and an invitation to conquest?

Let us see. How does Isaiah read? And the work of "pacifism" shall be peace and the effect of pacifism—? Not by a thousand miles. "The work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence forever."

The advent of a world ruled by righteousness is certain to come, is coming, but it has made progress not alone by preaching peace, but also because many vallant men have preferred liberty even at the cost of death on the battlefield rather than life under the heel of the tyrant. The lesson of history is that wars will cease when tyrants and tyranny are no more and that time and that event was mightily hastened by the Great War.

The Man Who Should be President

Condensed from *The Century Magazine* (Jan. '24)

Glenn Frank, Editor of *The Century Magazine*

THEORETICALLY, the people select their President. Practically, they do not. The existing system frequently offers us a choice between two men, both of whom have been nominated not because they display positive qualities of great leadership, but because they possess the negative qualities of safety and amenability to the party organization. Nominating conventions will always be places where the primary emphasis will be placed on strategy, compromise, and trading. If we want to improve the selective process in the great party conventions, we shall have to begin many months before, and create a body of opinion demanding a certain kind of President, instead of leaving the situation at the mercy of a battle of wits between rival campaign managers.

First, the next President should be a man of courage. The science of statesmanship has been largely prostituted to the art of vote-getting. Whatever the issue under consideration, we look in vain for action that is compounded of realistic thinking and courage. It may be that as we approach pure democracy political leadership will automatically cease to lead and become the puppet of passing whims. Certainly, for 50 years our political system has been breeding cowardice alike in the voter and in the politician. Our political parties have robbed the voter of his independence and courage. A real division in the opinion of voters brought our two major parties into existence, but they remain permanent organizations long after the specific issue that called them into existence ceased to be a live issue. They are held together by the artificial demands of party loyalty and

the selfish desire for office. No political party can remain generation after generation a body of interested voters. The real divisions among men come on specific issues as they successively arise. Therefore party organizations, in order to hold together, have to club their members into unity by pleas for "regularity" and appeals to the human desire to be part of a successful group. Irregularity becomes bad form. Thus independence of mind becomes the irregular thing in politics, and cowardice is lifted to the dignity of a political principle among voters.

But this infection of cowardice is even more evident among politicians than among voters. "These are my convictions," concluded a stump orator emphatically, "and if you do not like them . . . I will change them." The next President will face all the old temptations to caution, compromise, and cowardice. He will be told by the majority of his advisers that these are the qualities that will assure party success. The only hope clearly lies in our finding a man who lives intellectually and morally enough above the battle of politics to enable him to think and to act with the requisite idealism and courage. Every day more and more voters are becoming disgusted with the pass to which the politics of cowardice has brought the country. In such a time, a candidate, regardless of party, who disregards the conventional notions of what is "good politics" and goes directly to the country with an honest analysis of conditions and a courageous declaration of principles may find that the best politics is to forget politics. Courage means the steadfast refusal to straddle any issue because such straddling promises to catch a few more votes. But

equally it means the willingness to seem to straddle an issue if the partisan conflicts of the past have divided the country into two dogmatic camps, neither of which represents more than a partial understanding of the issue in question.

Our failure to enter the league and our refusal to join with England in giving to France a pledge of security that would have made unnecessary her present perilous policies, in short our withdrawal into our shell, released a thousand destructive forces in Europe. But today it is not easy to believe that a bashful entrance into the league would solve the world's troubles. At the moment, great leadership will recognize that the modern world is interdependent, that no nation can go on its own. Great leadership will also recognize that there are certain values in our geographical distance from Europe's troubles which must be preserved not only for our own sakes, but for the sake of a pacific future for the world. The next President should be able to approach the formulation of American foreign policy in the spirit of the engineer rather than in the spirit of the party politician. If the next President is merely a pro-leaguer or an isolationist, he will succeed only in plunging us into another ugly political warfare.

Third, the next President should be a man who understands the forces that are today changing our system of government as definitely as if it were being changed by constitutional amendment. Our representative government is every year becoming more a government by representatives of occupations and economic groups and less a government by representatives of the general interests of State or Congressional districts. This is not a new story. Years ago we had government by secret lobbies. We have driven most of these into the open. Now the basic economic and industrial interests and the various occupational groups openly maintain their organizations in Washington. Taken to-

gether, they make a third chamber in our legislative branch of government, which often exerts as profound an effect upon legislation as either of the two official chambers. Will it prove sinister or salutary? Much will depend upon the way it is understood and dealt with by our political leadership.

Fourth, the next President should be a man who will know how to stimulate sustained political thinking among the people by taking the country into his confidence oftener and in some more intimate way than is possible in occasional messages to Congress. The President should keep the whole country informed by frequent "messages" addressed to the people and released through the press. The elective process absorbs most of the political energy of the country. For the rest of the time, the average American is in the dark and listless. Such a practice would enable the President to talk over the heads of obstructionist groups directly to the country, clearing the stage for acceptable action.

Fifth, the next President should possess spiritual as well as political leadership. Human society the world over is facing the possibility of disintegration. The roots of civilization must be watered by the tides of a new idealism. Humanity needs the revivification that only some movement sweeping the world like a new renaissance can bring. If the next President should be a man whose mind was in touch with the great basic ideas that must underlie such a social renewal, he could give the whole world a new spiritual lead by the simple device of putting the prestige and attention-getting value of his office back of these ideas. Our country is so big that few men beside the President can get its attention and force it to think all at once about an idea. The tragedy is that we have allowed the presidency to become a task that makes the President a desk slave and prevents him from giving such spiritual leadership to the nation.

The Immigration Peril

Continued from December Digest (World's Work, Dec. '23)

Gino Speranza

THE population of New Mexico in 1920 was 350,000, of whom about one-half (180,000) were of "native" or Mexican-Spanish stock. As we saw last month, we have signally failed to absorb these 180,000 "natives" into the political life of the democracy in 75 years of contacts with American civilization. But these 180,000 New Mexicans are a mere handful to the FOURTEEN MILLIONS of foreign-born whites in this country (1920 census). What failed to work with 180,000 good, loyal people of Spanish stock, our geographical neighbors for two centuries, and inhabitants of this continent for many generations, we expect to achieve with twice that number of Italians born in Italy and jammed together in the single city of New York, or thrice that number of Germans, Poles, and Austrians who crowd the Empire City!

In a single year of "liberal" immigration policy there rushed in enough Austro-Hungarians to populate 27 towns the size of Portsmouth, N. H.; enough Poles and Jews from Old Russia to fill 18 towns the size of Lawrence, Kan.; enough Italians to give us a new city the size of Indianapolis, Ind. Is it unfair to charge as thoughtless an optimism which assumes that the children of these heterogeneous invaders, representing THIRTY-NINE different races and cultures, can be, on attaining maturity, politically minded as American democrats in any but the narrow, legalistic sense? Is it an incitement to "race hatred," as the demagogic race-voters will tell you? Or is it rather an appeal to reason to urge upon the American people the necessity for the serious study

of the effects of these huge blocks of racial votes upon American political life?

There is no denying that voters, new and old, of foreign stock in this country are cohering and solidifying their political power along the lines of their racial and cultural differences from American racial and cultural standards. They are also using that power more and more for non-American if not un-American ends.

It is not the "reformers" that today are mildly warning against the dangers and the evils of racial votes. It is the racial groups and blocks themselves that openly boast of their political power and, through their own leaders and their own press, demand pledges from, or threaten political death to candidates who are "suspected" of being first and last Americans in the sense of feeling, thinking, hoping, and voting in a thoroughly American way. The "three million Polish votes" is a stock phrase in the Polish press around election time and there is not an American in public life who has not heard it. It is notorious that in South Dakota you have to reckon with a "Russian vote" and in New England with a "French-Canadian vote" in the rural districts, and an "Irish and Italian vote" in the cities. And are we to forget the lessons of the Great War as to the "German vote"?

An Italian politician, in a leading Italo-American publication, attacking Senator Pepper (suspected of believing his own people "a super-race,") harangues his fellow-Americans of Italian stock as follows: "In the last elections of November 7th. the Italians of the U. S. A. through

carelessness or ignorance, or possibly, through the lack of *patriotic cohesion*, have allowed the great opportunity to escape them of *cooperating efficaciously and surely with the new government of Italy* in the solution of the problem of our trans-oceanic emigration." The italics are mine and are inserted as an aid to the understanding of what American citizenship means, to thousands of foreign-stock recruits to our citizenry.

Much of the same attitude and point of view you will find in some of the membership of those numberless small and large organizations which are found everywhere in the United States whose common denominator is racial or cultural dissimilarity from the American race; and which, consciously or unconsciously, reinforce the natural tendency of foreign-stock elements to cohere along their racial or cultural separateness. They are all more or less, fraternal, educational, social, artistic, or religious in scope, but, in the last ten years they have "gone in strong" for "Americanization" and "naturalization." It delights American optimists to be told that many of these societies with strange and foreign names (whose aggregate membership runs into the millions) have made it a charter condition that members shall be "American citizens." As if each of such new "citizens" did not add to the "too much sail and too little ballast" which already threatens, as Macauley predicted, the fate of the Ship of State! What a better reader of history is that New York editor of an Italian revolutionary sheet who has the sense and the courage to call these political hyphenates "bigamists in citizenship!"

How often, I would ask, have any of these numberless societies of "foreign-stock Americans" appeared before Congressional or Statal Committees in support of any measure seeking the perpetuation of the character and spirit of the American democracy in its integrity? How many of them, so blatantly patriotic

about citizenship, have joined any national movement to stem the inrush of alien immigrant invaders? Any such restriction would stop the supply of new constituents at the source and these racial societies naturally wish to keep that channel open. Look at the names of the legislators who stood up in Congress against the overwhelming will of the American Nation on the "Quota Immigration Law" and decide whether it was just a coincidence that a majority of these opponents were from the large cities where the "foreign vote" predominates? And we turn in vain to the foreign-language newspapers in this country for a single appeal to their readers to aid in the passage of any kind of restrictive measure. On every occasion the appeal and the rallying call has been to *resist*, worse than that, it has been to *organize* their resistance as voters of non-American stock!

Herbert Hoover, in his "American Individualism," reiterates an ancient social observation to the effect that "The mass does not think; it feels." A million Poles in the mass of the Polish National Alliance of America, a half million Jews in the mass of the Kehillah, or a hundred thousand Italians in the mass of the Ordine Figli d' Italia will feel, collectively, much more as Poles, as Jews, and as Italians, than as Americans. And they do!

An American observer (by no means in sympathy with restriction) has justly pointed out how "the mobilization by racial organizations of racial resources in the United States has amazed the Old World by its cohesiveness and by its wealth, power, and masterful efficiency. "But the New World, apparently, is amazed by nothing when it comes to large figures. Numbers, to the optimists and the thought-slackers, somehow always mean prosperity and greatness, even when large figures spell MILLIONS of foreign-born illiterates being "groomed" by racial organizations for "American citizenship!"

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An American sociologist has put it strikingly: "If you should ask an Englishman whether the tone of political life in his country would remain unaffected by the admission to the electorate of a million Cypriotes, Vlachs, and Bessarabians, he would take you for a madman. Suggest to the German that the plane of political intelligence in Germany would not be lowered by the access to the ballot box of multitudes of Serbs, and he will consign you to bedlam. Assure the son of Norway that the vote of the Persian, of sixty months' residence in Norway will be as often wise and right as his own and he will be insulted. It is only we Americans who assume that the voting of the Middle Atlantic States with their million naturalized citizens, or of the east north-central states with their million, is as sane, discriminating, and forward-looking as it would be without them."

Frankly and fearlessly faced, the problem today, even on the purely political side, is not one of absorbing large numbers of peoples who are, politically, non-American and non-democratic minded. The problem is: how to resist and overcome the mass-effects and the mass-action of such peoples upon that distinct American form of self-government developed by and for an ethnically and culturally homogeneous people.

It was a candid Polish-American priest who said: "Poles form a nation, but the United States is a country under one government inhabited by representatives of different nations." Need I show how this conception of the Union is fast taking root in this country? Or is it necessary to explain that such a conception not only is wholly alien to the ideas and ideals of the American democracy but, if persisted in, will lead to a federative as against a representative form of government? The vast masses of alien stocks in the body-politic of the Republic, by breaking up the homogeneity of the historic American

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in Greater New York. Obviously an outlaw strike. A strike without notice and without presentation of any demands whatever. A strike in definite disloyalty to local and international union compacts. A strike illegal under the rules of the union itself. And a strike precipitated by the action of a hot-headed minority who seized upon a favorable opportunity at a routine meeting to "put over" a treacherous action.

Rarely has the country witnessed such an illustration of the reckless use of arbitrary power by a labor organization, for the assumed advantage of a few and to the enormous loss of millions of innocent men and women. Nobody will ever be able to compute the direct and indirect money loss of that strike, including wages of workmen, advertising revenues of employers, and portions of the trade of almost all the business houses of the city, from the little shops to the theatres, the banks with bonds to sell, and the great department stores. Home-seekers went without apartments, job-seekers had no "want-ads" to scan. And for a week the greatest city in the world was comparatively destitute of its usual budget of world information. One sorry comfort the strike yielded—it was futile. The local lost its charter.

The unions, true, number but a third of the wage workers of America. But they are a disciplined force, compactly organized, readily mobilized, functioning effectively. They occupy strategic positions through control of key industries, the Gibaltars and Singapores of the industrial world. And how indifferent to public sentiment Labor often seems! The chief official in a plumbers' union serves a term in the penitentiary, resumes his former office in defiance of public sentiment, and is named an arbitrator in jurisdictional disputes. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers relied upon violence to gain their demands, of the 37 men found guilty by the courts of dynamiting the

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plant of the Los Angeles "Times" 11 are now out of prison and back in the American Federation of Labor holding official positions with pay. A member of the carpenters' union in an official report describes the new technique of strike violence—how professional thugs terrorize the scabs while the strikers look on.

My object is not to marshal against labor, the charges that focus into a formidable indictment of unionism. I cite these facts to verify my opinion that the unions must be reformed. The unions, alas! have no constructive program to offer. They tolerate no interference by well-meaning outsiders. Their official periodical flatly says: "Organized Labor does not want, does not need, and will not accept the kind of co-operation that these persons have offered. It will not be guided or interpreted except by itself." The American Federation of Labor manifests no faintest glimpse of the splendid service it might render society as a whole and industry in particular. It is a fighting organization, devoted by its constitution to combat.

Society tends today, and rightly, to hold that the method of force in industrial warfare is archaic and intolerable, and perceives, moreover, that strikes are won only occasionally by the more needy groups of workers, while the powerful organizations plan their campaigns and deliver their blows with the skillful strategy of army commanders. Moreover, if the strike be accepted as an established industrial weapon, additional groups will undertake to organize, until in the end we shall have such a struggle for existence and survival of the fittest as will imperil the finest institutions of American democracy. The responsibility for the discovery and the enforcement of methods of industrial adjustment that shall displace and replace the old ways of force rests alike upon Labor, Capital, and the public, but most heavily upon Labor. Some phase of that problem I hope to discuss in an early number of the "Atlantic."

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people, are actively destroying the basic principle upon which the spirit of nationality rests.

The basic reason why the Fathers declared men "as nearly as is possible in fact free and equal" was that there was, actually and in fact, a fundamental "ethnic and cultural unity" in the American people. Such unity and similarity are today so impaired that the principle upon which they are predicated is stretched almost beyond recognition. You cannot make Armenians, Syrians, or Slavs or what not democratically "free and equal" in the American sense by their wishing to be so, by their study of the Constitution, and our "swearing them in" after a sojourn in the Republic. To argue that even such a great political document as the Constitution can work such a miracle is to bring the Constitution into disrepute if not into contempt.

In the very nature of things we will have grafted upon the democracy a dual system of government; a government of Americans of and for Americans, and a government of non-Americans of and for non-Americans. This is already significantly obvious in the struggle now going on (under the euphemism of "home rule") between some of our cities of immense masses of alien voters and the governments of the commonwealths of which such cities are a part. And it is not without significance that the "conspicuous failure" of democracy in America is seen, as Bryce has said, in the bad government of our great cities.

It was an American of foreign stock who said "I do not believe that Americans are, per se, superior to all other nations; but I do believe that they are better fitted than all others to govern their country." And he gave it as his conviction, after a life of distinguished service in this country, that even aliens of an unobjectionable character complicate, "by their mere alienage, the problem of self-government."

Aspects of the Year 1923

Condensed from The Scientific American (Jan. '24)

RADIO COMMUNICATION: Not only have there been marked advances in broadcasting, but also in the serious, vitally important, workaday ship-to-shore and shore-to-shore communication which goes on steadily without attracting much attention. The past year has been marked by an increase in the number of high-power stations, proving again that radio is firmly established in the commercial world as a means of rapid and dependable communication. Then, too, there have been various innovations by way of improved codes and automatic transmitters and receivers, having for their object the speeding up of radio traffic. These are radio's answer to the challenge of the cable companies, which have also engaged in speeding up their traffic by improved cable design and equipment.

But it is in radio broadcasting that the marked progress has been made. Looked upon as a fad in the beginning, radio broadcasting has now intrenched itself pretty firmly in the routine of American life. This is due to the commendable efforts of the broadcasters who, during the past twelve months, have been steadily improving their programs. Radio engineers have given us better and better acoustics until today the radio music is quite on a par with the best phonographic reproduction. The Government has given a hand by way of new legislation, which has served to clarify the wave-length muddle under which radio broadcasting labored at the beginning of the past year. Then, too, the number of broadcasting stations, which reached the high-water mark in excess of 800 last June, has been steadily declining ever since, making for better radio broadcasting through the elimination of much unnecessary interference.

Most significant of all has been the introduction of the radio receiving set in the form of a true household article, by enclosing the set in an attractive cabinet, making it entirely self-contained and removing all traces of radio. Thus "furniture radio" has been brought into the finest of living rooms, there to take its permanent place beside the piano and the phonograph.

Railroads: Although there has been practically no new railroad construction, there has been as great activity as limited funds permit in the construction of additional tracks on congested stretches of roads, and in recovering all roadbeds and track from the sad state of deterioration into which they had fallen during their administration by the Government. Great credit is due the railroad executives for the vast economies they have achieved, and the substantial betterments which they have been able to make in the face of lower rates and general labor troubles. For the first time in many years, the total length of track in the country has fallen below 250,000 miles. In 1913 the total was 253,470 miles; in 1916, 259,705 miles; in 1923, only 249,231 miles of single track. The hard times which the railroads are passing through is demonstrated by a comparison of the number of cars and locomotives built. These wear out and must be replaced continuously. In 1898, 2,475 new locomotives were built; in 1906, 6,952, and in 1913, 5,332; whereas in 1922 only 1,303 locomotives were built. Again in 1914, 3,691 new passenger cars were built; in 1922, only 747. In 1913, 207,684 new freight cars were built and in 1922 only 66,747. These figures show the futility of a further reduction of freight rates.

Automobile: In both the automo-

bile and the motor truck we have the most perfect mechanical device of the present day. The automobile, in its passenger carrying capacity in proportion to its weight, its low consumption of fuel, its reliability and general comfort, stands far in the lead of any modern means of travel. The improvements of the future are fore shadowed in such devices as the four-wheel brake and the preheating of the charge, both of which in their limited application have given excellent results. To render the automobile absolutely perfect, there should be developed some automatic method of varying the richness of the mixture to meet changing conditions of load; and some genius should develop a substitute for the present shifting gears. Although there are now 12,500,000 cars in the United States, the automobile industry continues to grow by leaps and bounds. The time approaches when Federal laws for the control of highway traffic should be set in force. Legislation of this kind is a natural corollary to Federal aid in the construction of highways.

Electricity: One of the great problems in the electrical world today, is that of developing the latent water-powers of the country through a comprehensive and thoroughly co-ordinated scheme, which will develop the maximum amount of power with a maximum possible distribution at a reasonably low cost. For some years, there has been presented for consideration what is known as the Super-Power scheme, which covers the leading manufacturing section of the country lying between Canada and Washington, and reaching from the Atlantic coast to the Alleghany Mountains. This plan, if carried out, will develop the waterpower of the St. Lawrence River, of Niagara, and of the lesser streams and rivers; will establish large central power stations in the neighborhood of the various coal fields, and will gather into one great consolidation the present widely scattered, hydro-electric and steam-electric power plants. It will feed the aggregate power thus secured into

one great system of distribution, from which the users will draw their power as and where it is required. The economy thus secured represents the annual saving of over 150,000,000 tons of coal.

Interesting progress has been made with carrier-current telephony. By means of a carrier current, it has been possible to telephone over high-power transmission lines, over street-car trolley wires and tracks, and over lighting circuits. The past year has witnessed the introduction of carrier-current telephony over long-distance transmission lines, for ensuring communication between the main generating station and substations, and also over lighting systems for the purpose of bringing "wired wireless" music and talks into the home of electric light consumers.

Naval and Military: The outstanding event during the year was the signing by France of the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments, thus rendering this epoch-making compact effective. Its beneficial effects are seen in the perfect quiet which has taken the place of the angry storm which threatened to break forth in the Pacific. Encouraged by this success, the United States should now call the nations of Europe together, with a proposal for similar reduction of land armaments. We insured the success of the Washington Conference by our own large contribution to the reduction of naval equipment. If we approach Europe in the same spirit, we believe that Europe would make a quick response. This might take the form of a promise to ease the financial burdens of the European nations, on the condition that they will cut down their armies, stabilize their currencies, and balance their budgets. The reduction of armies to a reasonable figure would relieve these nations at once of a heavy burden of expense, and the combined effect might well lead to an early and satisfactory settlement of the reparations problem.

The Carlsbad National Monument

Condensed from The National Geographic Magazine (Jan. '24)

Willis T. Lee

OCCASIONALLY a matter-of-fact statement of a geographic discovery sounds incredible. Such was the case with the first accounts of the Yellowstone geysers. Only recently a brand-new type of phenomenon, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, Alaska, taxed comprehension. And now comes the announcement of a remarkable cavern among the eastern foothills of the Guadalupe Mountains, in southeastern New Mexico — the Carlsbad Cavern.

The less scenic part has been known locally for many years as a bat cave and a source of guano. Recently explorers traversed several miles of its hall and chambers, and some parts of it were found to have such startling magnificence that, on October 25, 1923, by proclamation of President Coolidge, it was set aside as the Carlsbad National Monument.

At the entrance to the cave there are several dwellings, an engine-house, and two hoisting shafts. It seems that from prehistoric time the cave has been the home of countless numbers of bats. For several years past quantities of guano have been shipped from it.

The natural opening to the cave is not now used and much work must be done before access through it is safe. It consists of a large hole, 100 feet or more across, from which the rocks have fallen into the cavern below, a distance of about 170 feet. This opening widens downward, somewhat like an inverted funnel. This natural opening is used by the bats. At dusk each evening they begin to leave the cave for their night of foraging. For about three hours the winged stream resembles smoke pouring from a smokestack. It is equally fascinating in the early morn-

ing to watch these same thousands returning home.

We entered the cavern through the artificial shaft, constructed for hoisting guano from the cave. For some distance from the bottom of the shaft the route is not difficult, but the pathway is rough, for the lower part of the cave is filled with angular blocks of rock fallen from the walls and ceiling. The thickness of the debris is not known, but in some places, where the blocks are large, men are said to have made their way downward 200 or 300 feet below the present floor. As we proceeded we gradually made our way deeper and deeper into the earth. For nearly a mile we traversed a passage of astonishing dimensions. The walls are very irregular, approaching to 100 feet of each other in a few places, then receding in lateral chambers many times that width. At the side of the passageway are many alcoves opening into rooms, few of which have ever been entered.

In most places the walls are rough and jagged, but in a few places they are relatively smooth, having been polished by waters which flowed through this passageway ages ago. Every now and again, as a beam of light from a torch is directed into the darkness, one is startled at the sight of a snow-white figure perched on some rock, like the proverbial ghost on a tombstone. These are stalagmites built up by the slow dripping of water charged with carbonate of calcium from the limestone of the roof. A few of these have been built up into magnificent fluted and ornately decorated columns, as if supporting the ceiling of a vaulted cathedral of vast dimensions.

About a mile from the foot of the shaft, a real difficulty is encountered. Here a pit something more than 150 feet deep and extending entirely across the cavern suddenly yawned in our path. The sides are so steep that footholds must be cut. Possibly the inky blackness is advantageous here, for the torches illuminate only one difficulty at a time. If the whole ascent and descent were illuminated at once, few tourists would see the marvels awaiting them beyond. Even when we reached the top, our labors were by no means ended, for almost immediately we started down another declivity, clambering over angular rocks and crawling through low, narrow passages.

Soon we entered the spectacular part of Carlsbad Cavern. Here we found chambers of unbelievable dimensions. Our way led over enormous limestone blocks fallen from the roof. One of these was estimated as more than 100 feet in diameter. One of our party jocularly likened us to a train of ants making its way through a brick pile. The chambers in this part of the cave are several hundred feet wide and the vaulted ceiling so far above us that in some places we were unable to see it.

Further on, 700 feet below the surface at the entrance, three large chambers open off the main hall. The smallest is 160 feet long by 140 feet wide. The middle room is about three times this size and the third one much larger. The chambers are separated from the master room by partitions of gleaming onyx. Thousands of stalactites hang singly, in doublets, in triplets, and in groups. Some are many feet thick, forming spiny masses weighing thousands of tons. Here, over surprisingly large areas, the floor is smooth and one can wonder at will under and among the myriads of pendants. One small chamber, 50 feet in diameter, is so thickly set with slender stalactites that one could not pass through it without destroying scores of the delicate pendants. The stalagmitic

growths rising from the floor are scarcely less varied and delicate.

In many parts of the cavern Nature has traced her designs in snow-white onyx with such exquisite delicacy that the beholder feels that the stirring of a breeze would set them fluttering. In the main chamber Nature has paid appropriate tribute to the Indian tribes which once ranged over the surface land of the Cavern, for here are a group of slender graceful stalagmites resembling totem poles.

After leaving the three large chambers, we climbed a steep hill, and made snaillike pace for a half hour. Then came the most spectacular sight of all. We entered a big room more than half a mile in length and probably averaging many hundreds of feet in width. A few side trips revealed alcoves uninterrupted for hundreds of feet. None of these has been thoroughly explored. In a few places the arched ceiling was estimated by several members of the party as more than 200 feet above us. In other places even the spotlight from a strong electric torch failed to pierce the gloom and no ceiling could be discerned. I could never have believed that an open space of such great dimensions was to be found underground. This "Big Room" is probably as remarkable for ornate decoration as it is for its size. There are thousands of pendants, some so slender that they break under the slightest pressure; some so massive that one marvels that the enormous weight is sustained. The stalagmites, rising from the floor are no less varied. Some, only a few feet in diameter, rise to a height of 50 feet. The "Twin Domes" are said to be more than 100 feet high and to measure more than 200 feet across.

Some visitors who claim familiarity with noted caves assert that Carlsbad Cavern surpasses all others in size and in the beauty and variety of its decorations. It seems probable that this claim may be substantiated when an adequate survey is made.

A Nation That Shops for Neighbors

Condensed from *The Outlook* (Dec. 12, '23)

Stanley Frost

THERE is a certain hard-headed directness in the views of the average Canadian on immigration which, after the complicated sentimentalism that surrounds the subject in the States, rather makes one blink. The Canadian holds these truths to be self-evident: That Canada belongs to the Canadians, who have built it out of the wilderness, and that no one has any right whatever to share its advantages and opportunities except such people as the nation-builders choose. Further, that it is folly to admit people who are going to try to change the spirit or the purpose of the country, or who are going to try to fatten on it without giving full return. He feels that the Western World was put into the hands of a certain kind of people, apparently so that they could develop a certain kind of freedom and progress. He does not see that any divine purpose will be achieved by allowing that freedom and progress to be swamped.

If you talk of "a mighty fusion of the races," he will point out that infusible material adds no value to the amalgam. His ideal is of a country of security, prosperity, and individualism, free from class or religious hatreds, where his children may develop in their own way in peace and plenty.

This attitude reduces the question of immigration to one of facts and common sense. The Canadians are picking folks who are going to be their neighbors, and whose children will be their children's neighbors, as well as their fellow-citizens. So Canada looks over the immigration offered in the great warehouse of the world and selects what she can best use. She pays due attention not only to her present and future economic needs, not only to her political sta-

bility and progress, but also to the social value of the newcomers and to that curious thing which may be called mental affinity. She aims to build up a unified nation.

Canada believes that she should do the selecting—not the immigrants. We here have long gone on the theory that any one who had the enterprise and courage required to get here would make a valuable citizen, and that no one would come who did not wish to enjoy the same kind of liberties that we do. Canada believes these tests are worthless. Wherefore she selects according to careful rules. Her law, in the first place, provides for all the restrictions that we have, and some more. It specifies health, literacy, good conduct, ability to earn a living, and such fundamentals. But its real teeth are in the following paragraph, which empowers the Governor in Council—which corresponds to our Cabinet—to

Prohibit or limit in number for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic, industrial, or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable, having regard to climatic, industrial, social, educational, labor, or other conditions or requirements of Canada, or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life, or methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.

Under this paragraph orders are constantly being issued changing conditions of admission and numbers admitted according to current needs. With this law as her working machinery, Canada has formed the de-

tails of her policy. In the first place, she distinguishes carefully between races and nationalities. Peoples of Anglo-Saxon stock she considers easily assimilable and desirable. Hence subjects and citizens of the United States are admitted with very little question. In the second category come natives of the northern European countries except Germany. In the third class comes the rest of the world. Levantines, Slavs, most of the Mediterranean peoples, all Orientals—these are admitted seldom, and then only after the most searching tests.

This is no reflection on the excluded peoples. Canada has merely decided, from her experience and observation, that they do not amalgamate well with the class of people who make the bulk of her population, and that they do make trouble.

These things being attended to—general bodily, mental, and industrial health and neighborly affinity—Canada then comes to the second part of her policy, a part for which the United States has no parallel. The admission of immigrants, even under the rules stated, depends on whether Canada, in her own immediate condition, has use for them. If not, the bars stay up. Canada always has use for three classes: farmers, farm laborers, and domestic servants. For these, subject to the classifications given, the door is always open. In fact, Canada maintains an organization to get more of these. She has in Great Britain 13 agents whose chief duty is to stimulate emigration, and they have considerable authority to give financial aid to people who are desirable.

Next after these classes in desirability come skilled workers, but these are not considered desirable at all unless there is work for them. During the last two years there has been unemployment in Canada, and except from Great Britain and the States none of this class have been admitted. If, for example, a manu-

facturer asks permission to bring in 50 or 100 men, the immigration officials refer the request to the Department of Labor. This Department has employment bureaus all over Canada and knows at any time the exact number of unemployed in every trade. If it cannot supply them, there is no objection to having the new hands come in. Thus immigration is never allowed to force down the wage level, nor is lack of it permitted to hamper industry.

Of other types of immigrants—clerks, tailors, storekeepers, traders in general—Canada has a very low opinion. She does not want many people who would rather stand behind a counter than get out and produce. Few of these get in. Almost none—again except Britons—can start from abroad, and most who try to get across from the States find something in the way.

It will be seen that these policies give almost complete assurance that the immigrants will go to places where they are needed and will not coagulate into "foreign colonies" nor bring the other evils of unassimilated and undistributed immigration which afflict the United States.

Canada adjusts her machinery to meet actual, known conditions from day to day. Nine changes were made during the first three months of 1923. There was no politics in these changes—the Department would as soon think of playing politics as our Bureau of Standards would. In fact, the whole problem in Canada is handled with an almost scientific attitude of mind. It takes into consideration nothing but the good of the nation—never the making of votes. To return for a moment to our average Canadian, it would seem to him the height of absurdity if any one should suggest that unassimilable and undesirable aliens should be admitted now because of fear of the votes of other undesirable and unassimilable aliens who had been permitted to become citizens.

See It Through

Condensed from *The Ladies' Home Journal* (Jan., '24)

Harry Emerson Fosdick

STATISTICS compiled by insurance actuaries with reference to the prospects of a hundred average young men 25 years of age starting out in business are decidedly disconcerting. When those men are 65 years old, they will on the average have fallen into the following classes: 36 dead, 54 financially dependent on family or charity, 5 barely able to make their living, 4 well-to-do, 1 rich. If we discount the unfairness and ill fortune of external circumstance, we still have left a large amount of inability to see life through, which must be due to lack of character. A very serious test of human fiber is involved in the fact that there are so many good beginnings and poor endings.

Good starters and good stayers are not necessarily the same people. Plenty of people are equipped with efficient *self-starters*. They are off with a fleet eagerness that wakens high expectations, but they peter out; they soon stick in the sand or stall on a high hill. The ultimate test is our ability to finish. In one of our Federal prisons today is a man who for 50 years with unblemished reputation lived a life of honor in his own community. Then, as a government servant, he went to France during the war and mishandled funds. Only that will be remembered about him. The half century of fine living is blotted out. He was not able to finish.

Living is a good deal like splitting a rock—the workman lifts his iron maul and brings it down repeatedly upon the seam until the deed is done. If, now, one asks which blow split the rock, it is clear that they all did. Yet without the last one the first and all between would have come to nothing. Many lives fail

from inability to deliver the last blow.

This is evident to anyone who watches the moral collapse of maturity. We continually stress the temptations, perils and failures of youth. We are even told that it makes little difference what happens to a boy after he is 12 years old. We feel confident that if we can give a boy a good beginning we can insure him against a bad ending.

Important as is the truth involved in this emphasis, it is only a half truth. Some men are like rivers which flow out through dangerous rapids in their early course into calm currents of maturity. But other men are like Niagara River—beginning with a full, deep, powerful stream and breaking in its latter course into such tumultuous rapids and waterfalls as no river at its beginning can ever know. "Call no man happy till he is dead," is a cynical proverb, but it springs from an important insight into human experience. The collapses of maturity are quite as perilous as the callowness of youth.

For one thing, maturity often has to handle the problem of success. The very struggle to succeed calls forth resources of courage and determination which are often a strong protector of ambitious youth. But when in our maturity we have in some measure succeeded, then comes one of the most crucial moral conflicts which a man can face. It is one thing to succeed; it is another to be fit to succeed.

It is a common fallacy to suppose that men are tempted when they are weak. Upon the contrary, it is about men's powers that temptations grow turbulent like swirling waters around a rock. A young student of law is not tempted to sell his soul to plead

an evil case. But when he has achieved mastery of the law, with the prestige and power that go with it, he surely will be tempted to misuse his acumen and resourcefulness. Temptations deal with life as winds do with trees—the taller the tree the more the tempests wrestle with it. One wonders, therefore, if statistics were available, whether more failures would be registered in youth or in maturity. Many men, for example, cannot stand financial success. Getting money may develop their characters; having it ruins them.

The collapses of maturity are due, not alone to the increase of power, but also to the impact of trouble. Out of a fortunate and sheltered youth many a man goes into a maturity where disappointment piles on disappointment, and trouble, like a battering-ram, hits again and again the same spots in his walls, until the foundations shake. Maturity has to deal with facts much more tragic than youth knows.

The shame of a good beginning spoiled by a bad ending is emphasized when we recall the many lives that have reserved the process. A book like Harold Begbie's *Twice Born Men* is an inspiring record of folk whose lamentable start was redeemed by a great conclusion. Fornicators, adulterators, thieves, covetous, drunkards, revelers, extortioners—such is the New Testament's description of the raw material out of which many of the first Christians were made. And from that day to this, making Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, out of Augustine, the slave of lust, or Jerry McAuley, the man, out of Jerry McAuley, the drunkard, has been one of the Gospel's specialties. To a man who has had a fine start and now faces the possibility of a miserable ending, there is a stimulating challenge in these folk who reversed the process, who started by being pitchblende and ended by being radium.

The power to see life through to a great conclusion is obviously a

matter of patience, and patience is of all virtues one of the most difficult to achieve. Nothing in this world, however, is likely to get on without it, for the world is built on patient lines. But man is naturally impatient; and in consequence often fails to carry on to a fine finish.

By this attitude we unfit ourselves to live. Just now, for example, many folk are so impatient over the failure of the ideal hopes which we associated with the winning of the war that they are collapsing into cynicism. All sorts of human brotherhoods were to come in the wake of victory; we were to have pan-Christianity, pan-Americanism, pan-nationalism—and what we have is pandemonium.

The after-effects of war have always been disastrous upon a nation. It is stupid, therefore, to fall into cynicism because the Great War did not save the world. It almost ruined the world, and there is no way out except as men get their second wind and tackle the problem of war itself, and behind that, the evils which cause war. The only folk who are fit to live and work in this world are folk who have that kind of undiscouragable patience.

As for personal experience, to what triumphant endings has religious faith brought multitudes who have understood its power! If ever any one had a difficult conclusion to face, it was Jesus. Yet if He had given up in Gethsemane, unable to finish, all His teaching would have been forgotten. His works of mercy would have dropped into oblivion. His victory lay in His power to say on Calvary, "It is finished." If ever a man might have been tempted to give up, it was Paul. Yet if in Nero's prison he had collapsed, unable to finish, all his fine start would have gone for nothing, and his long and arduous labor have lost its fruit. The significance of his life hung on his ability at last to say, "I have finished the course, I have kept the faith."

Western Ideas at Work in the East

Condensed from Popular Science Monthly and Current Opinion

Science to Transform Palestine

Civilization has not advanced appreciably in Palestine since Biblical days. So far as the native population is concerned, practically no use has been made of the gifts of science. Ox-drawn wooden plows and primitive water wheels for irrigation are the machinery of agriculture. The inhabitants make their journeys on donkeys exactly as Joseph, Mary, and the infant Christ accomplished the flight into Egypt. Water for domestic purposes still is carried in hide sacks from streams and old wells. Oil lamps illuminate the homes. Long ago the forests disappeared from the country, and the rich soil was washed away from the high ground. Neglect has caused the once fertile valleys to become swampy and malarial.

But today modern science has invaded the Holy Land, harnessing for electric power the River Jordan. Engineers are impounding for irrigation of the arid valleys the waters of the Sea of Galilee, draining the fever-breeding swamp lands for agriculture, and spreading a web of transmission lines over Palestine from Dan to Beersheba and from the Mediterranean to the eastern edge of the Jordan valley.

Recently the first electric power station of the enterprise was put in operation at Jaffa. Similar plants are nearing completion at Haifa and in Jerusalem. These three plants, soon to be connected, will supply electric current for municipal, industrial, and domestic purposes. They will also supply the power for an

(Continued on 2d column, page 696)

New Freedom for Turkish Women

When Mustapha Kemal marched into Smyrna at the head of his victorious troops after chasing the Greeks half-way across Asia Minor, a band of young girls, Turkish girls, came to meet their "liberators" with cakes and coffee for the refreshment of the general staff. At their head was Latifa Hanum, a modernist, unveiled, of graceful bearing, with a pair of disarming black eyes; a young woman educated in Europe, who seems to have imbibed western—even American—ideas of enterprise and "go-getting."

In the New York "Tribune" appears her own story of her romantic marriage to Kemal Pasha, now President of the Turkish Republic:

"The other girls who had accompanied me to meet the conquering heroes had a vague fear of being scolded for having rushed out without their veils. On the contrary, both Mustapha Pasha and his officers were much pleased with us. Emboldened by the reception we received, I offered Kemal Pasha our house for his headquarters. My offer was received with appreciation, and I accompanied the whole general staff to our house, where my father met them in amazement.

"That evening we were alone, and we talked a great deal—not sentimental talk, but about the future of our country. These conversations continued for four days, and on the fifth evening I was surprised when our great general told me in a very matter-of-fact way that, having a

(Continued on 1st column, page 696)

western education, he thought I would make a fitting partner for him, and before I realized what I was doing I had accepted the offer in a real unsentimental, matter-of-fact spirit. But I didn't expect the marriage to take place for years.

"One day my father gave a reception to 40 or 50 friends in celebration of Smyrna's recapture. The visitors had all come, and I was administering the preparation of food in the kitchen when Kemal Pasha came to the door. With a smile on his lips he asked me if I would object to utilizing the occasion for the wedding. Then he sent for my father, who, on being told of the plans, said smilingly that if it was agreeable to us both it would be agreeable to him. You can imagine my excitement and embarrassment.

"I had only half an hour in which to prepare for the wedding ceremony. I was perhaps the first Turkish girl who was wedded to her future husband in his presence. One of the visitors was a registrar, and he performed the ceremony. It was a true western wedding, and I now realize why my husband wished to have it done that way. He himself wanted to set the example to the rest of our countrymen. It is true that since our innovation many of my young countrymen have married in western fashion. Of course, it will take years to break down the prejudices of centuries, but we are progressing rapidly, and before many years the hand of the past will cease to rule us any longer.

"My husband is fully determined that Turkish women must never again hide their faces, and the women of Turkey are with him. Some of the men may object to the women showing their faces, but it matters little what these men like or dislike. We have espoused the cause of freedom, and no nation can claim freedom while enslaving its women."—*Current Opinion*, Jan. '24.

(Continued from page 695)

electric railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the first step toward the ultimate electrification of all the Palestine transportation lines.

Now, with electricity available, the swamps drained, and the valleys watered, the results of the neglect of centuries are likely to be repaired virtually overnight. Indeed, engineers say it will be possible to supply electricity throughout Palestine so cheaply that it can be used in every home for cooking and heating purposes, for which only wealthy persons are able to employ it in other countries. The eager interest with which the native population greeted the recent introduction of a small quantity of modern agricultural and construction machinery seems to give evidence that the Jewish and Arab inhabitants will embrace the opportunity to better their condition through modern methods.

The work of developing Palestine is being conducted under concessions granted by the British Government, mandatory of Palestine, to the Palestine Development Council of New York City. The enterprise is of such vast extent, covering practically the whole length and the major portion of the width of Palestine, that it will be carried on in successive steps, keeping pace with the upbuilding of the country. Probably \$100,000,000 will be spent eventually in the restoration of Palestine. Nine power stations, a veritable network of irrigation canals, electric railways, dams, manufacturing plants, wharves, warehouses and large scale drainage of the marshes already are planned. The company organized to pursue the work has been limited to a maximum profit of 12½ per cent, and the Palestine Government has been authorized to purchase the undertaking after 37 years or at the end of each 10-year period thereafter.—*Popular Science Monthly*, Jan. '24.

The Billboard Curse

.Condensed from The Forum (Nov. '23)

Walter Pritchard Eaton

BY many people I am considered a crank because of my attitude toward the desecration of America by signboard advertising and squalid roadside booths. More important matters face America, to get excited about, they say. I'm not so sure. I'm not sure but the vulgar flaunting of "national products" from the hilltops, the ugly scramble of great and small for trade, no matter who suffers or how much the countryside is spoiled, is a symptom of national ill health; and if it is not controlled by a more generous and decent sentiment, I am not sure but that means the disease has struck very deep. Out-of-door advertising, of course, is at bottom a form of the most flaunting and vulgar selfishness. If we are both so impervious to ugliness and so supine before selfishness and greed, that we cannot and will not find a way to abolish this nuisance, then, I say, we are in a bad way. A people who readily submit to the spoilation of their land by selfish greed are a people sick.

I live in the Berkshire Hills, which have long been considered peculiarly attractive to the eye, and restful to the spirit. And I live in an especially lovely corner of those hills, under a doming mountain. A State road runs northward by my door, dropping at length to a pretty little valley threaded by a clear mountain brook, and swinging across a neat bridge into an elm shaded village. The village as you enter it suggests at once the neat order and tradition of New England. It is all worth seeing and saving.

But this summer an oil company came, and erected two monstrous and hideous red signs in the very

heart of the little valley, close to the brook, so that you cannot see the village or the landscape, for their flaring effrontery. Opposite one of them, a hotel in the next town proclaims chicken dinners. Opposite the other, a rival oil company, in letters four feet high, proclaims the superiority of its brand of gasoline. When I first beheld those signs, I suffered a physical blow. The prospect that I loved, this bit of landscape that was, to me, a part of home, a part of the whole tradition in which I was born and by which I live, had been defiled, made hideous.

Nor am I alone in that feeling. A great majority of the men and women in the village share it, and share it strongly. Yet what good does it do? None whatever. The signs are on private property. For each of the large signs, the owners of that property receive \$20 a year rental. In this case, two men, for a meagre sum, permit the advertisers to desecrate a lovely landscape, to add one more bit of ugliness to the vast mass of ugliness which is overwhelming the American scene.

I motored recently across the entire State of Massachusetts to Boston, and on up the coast of Maine, and then into the White Mountains. The car rolled over hundreds of miles of paved highway, built at an average cost of twenty thousand to thirty thousand dollars per mile. Over that highway, on the same summer days, rolled a steady procession of other cars, containing thousands upon thousands of people going on long or shorter rides to find recreation. And these highways led through one of the fairest and trimmest sections of our country,

through towns the oldest and richest in associations, and into the finest scenery east of the Rocky Mountains. Yet my heart grew sick as I journeyed, my eyes ached for the ugliness they beheld, till at last I could have wept with rage and grief, for the desecration of New England.

There was scarce a mile of the highway anywhere, except for a brief stretch through a State forest, that was not marred by some great billboard plastered, of course, right at the end of a vista so it could be seen for a long distance. Close to the larger towns the advertising signs came in a steady wall. At frequent intervals, and generally in the most attractive spots, such as bits of pine woods, or on the tops of hills, refreshment booths and filling stations crowded their litter and ugliness up to the road. From Worcester to Boston the old Post Road resembles nothing so much as a street in Coney Island.

Matters get worse instead of better as you approach the White Mountains, till you must strain your eyes incessantly to catch a glimpse of Tripynamid between the signs, like a landscape viewed through a picket fence. As you come into Conway, the Board of Trade of the village has outdone the commercial advertisers with a huge billboard, bidding you welcome. How much more gracious a welcome it would be if the Board of Trade would permit you to enter the town by a highway lined only with the trees of the forest, and backed by an unobstructed view of the blue mountains piled up beyond! I am old enough to have driven over that road behind a pair of horses, and I know what the view was like. It is the same view today—but nobody can see it. Suppose you were to enter a museum, and across the foreground of every lovely landscape were to paint three or four rectangles of ugly blue and green and yellow print. The gallery would become a place of horror. Well, that is

exactly what we have permitted the advertisers to do to our American scene, our art gallery of nature. We are fast making our fairest landscapes intolerable.

And I cite New England only because I know New England most intimately, and love it best. In far away Oregon, the State has contrived to keep advertising signs out of the Columbia River gorge, but the instant that magnificent highway bursts through the basalt barrier, you might as well be approaching New York City on the Boston Post Road, or going to Philadelphia in a Pennsylvania train.

The problem of ridding our State highways of the nuisances need not be really difficult. If a town can establish a building line and civic centers where all architecture must conform to a standard, a commonwealth can take similar action. If Massachusetts can set aside certain roads as scenic highways, and forbid the erection of signs on adjoining property, she can forbid it on every highway in the Commonwealth. If a man, at the bidding of society, for society's good, cannot dump garbage on his private property, he can equally be prevented from erecting a hot-dog booth or a filling station which offends every decent sense. A civilized people know that what is squalid and ugly may be as dangerous to spiritual health as sewage is to bodily.

Certainly if America is to remain a comfortable and attractive place to live and to move about in, we have got to find some way to conquer this curse of ugliness. As usual, the great mass of people are unorganized, and in any true sense represented in our legislative bodies. But in spite of the organized opposition from the advertisers and a few greedy property owners along the highways, the great mass of people would call the legislature blessed which first abolished the commercial blight that is obscuring the American landscape.

Harnessing the Colorado

Condensed from the Review of Reviews (Jan. '24)

Dwight B. Heard

ONE of the greatest assets that this country possesses is the Colorado River. Seven States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California—look to much of their future prosperity through the control and utilization of the now uncontrolled Colorado River floods. The remarkable natural dam sites seem to have been located by the Creator that man might have an unparalleled opportunity for engineering development. In the Canyon of the Colorado, partly within Arizona and partly within Nevada, exist a number of marvelous natural reservoir sites where the entire flood of the river for two years can be stored and harnessed for useful purposes. It is equally fortunate that the use of any of the control sites now favored will in no way mar the beauty of that wonderland of nature, the Grand Canyon of Arizona.

Many great engineers recognize that a constructive plan for the control and development of the river presents a national opportunity equal to, if not greater than, the construction of the Panama Canal. Careful surveys by trained engineers during recent years show that within the basin of the Colorado River are opportunities for developing 6,000,000 horsepower. When intelligently distributed, that power will almost revolutionize industry in the States involved, including the probable electrification of most of the railway systems. Furthermore, engineering reports indicate that with complete development 4,994,000 acres can be added to the irrigation area of the basin, providing for the maintenance of a prosperous population of nearly a million people.

An example of the great natural opportunities for controlling and storing the flood waters is shown by the facts developed at the Black Canyon site in Arizona, 70 miles north of Needles. There a concrete dam 600 feet high can be built for \$45,000,000, creating a reservoir with more than enough to cover the whole of Massachusetts with water six feet deep. The survey shows that more than 1,000,000 horsepower can be developed at this one dam—practically as much electrical energy as is now used in the entire State of California. A graphic idea of the enormous size of these proposed works is afforded when one considers that each of the two power canals, carrying the flood-controlled waters from the reservoir to the turbines, will be 40 by 40 feet across.

The vast works involved in this huge engineering problem of the control of the waters of the Colorado River make it almost essential that in the development of this national asset there should be the maximum of cooperation between the federal and State governments. A firm groundwork of mutual cooperation should be laid to prevent the friction and agitation over the right to the use of interstate streams which has so embarrassed development on the eastern slopes of the Rockies in the drainage areas of the Rio Grande, Arkansas, and Platte Rivers. Congress recognized the national needs of such action, and in 1921 passed an act authorizing a compact or treaty between the States involved and the Federal Government. In the same year the seven States appointed representatives to what is known as the Colorado River Commission, and

with the unanimous approval of these States Herbert Hoover was appointed the federal member of the commission and its chairman.

The commission in 1922 reached a unanimous agreement known as the Colorado River Compact covering the equitable apportionment of the water of the river between the upper and the lower basins. Commenting on it, Herbert Hoover said:

Fortunately, the Colorado River possesses a unique opportunity for engineering storage. It has no parallel elsewhere in the world of the volume of storage that can be secured at the minimum of outlay. It is possible to create two large reservoirs on the river, which, between them, would hold more than two years' continuous flow of the river.

One of the first conclusions that the commission came to, after nearly a year of study—in which we had the assistance of the whole body of Government engineers, as well as the engineers of the different States—was that the whole drainage naturally divided itself into two separate basins; that the States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico, comprising the upper tributaries of the river, possessed an entirely different series of problems from that of the lower basin States, principally California and Arizona, together with Nevada.

The form and character of agriculture in the two basins are entirely distinctive. The engineering problems in the development of both water and power are of entirely a different character. The whole economic life of the people in the two basins is of different character, and they are separated by a thousand miles of barren canyon. And it became clear that the legal contentions over the waters of the river fundamentally lay in contention between the upper basin and the lower basin; that this was not a quarrel of one State against six other States; and, therefore, that the first settlement must be arrived at by the separation of the drainage into two basins.

One of the most interesting features of the project, particularly as it affects the States of the lower basin, is the fact that the income from the sale of electricity at exceptionally moderate rates will, within a comparatively short period, return a large portion of the cost of the necessary development and reclamation works.

The Southwest is quite generally

agreed that the first purpose of the control of the river is flood control. The whole country is, I believe, awakened to the need of flood control and to the tragedy of the Imperial and Yuma valleys of California and Arizona, with their thousands of homes at the mercy of the flood ravages of the Colorado River. During the floods of 1906 the very existence of the Imperial Valley, one of the greatest irrigation districts in the world, was at stake. Finally, through the desperate efforts of the engineers, under the direction of that engineering genius, the late Epes Randolph, the stream was deflected and the Imperial Valley was saved.

Only a few years since, this ravaging stream broke loose on the Arizona side and inundated a great home making district south of Yuma. Last year large areas in California were inundated. Boats were the only means of transportation in the principal town of Palo Verde Valley, where 40,000 acres of irrigable land were under water for several months. Relief, however, in all cases has been but temporary; and no permanent assurance of safety can be given until one of the more important flood-control dams is constructed.

While there is but little difference of opinion regarding the need of prompt flood control, there is difference of opinion as to whether the second feature of the Colorado development should be home-making or the creation of power. All these factors, however, can be wedded into one great construction program. The Colorado River Compact provides for the conclusion among the States of one of the most important treaties of good will ever negotiated. It is a treaty that would substitute common sense, peace, and cooperation for misunderstanding and legal friction, and that will enable the federal Government, in cooperation with the States, to carry forward one of the most constructive conservation movements of the age.

Air Flivvers for Everybody

Condensed from Popular Science Monthly (Jan., '24)

In a recent international contest in England, two airplane pilots each flew 87 miles on a gallon of gasoline. Another drove his tiny sky sparrow at a speed of 75 miles an hour. These amazing aerial midgets were restricted to engines of not more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ horsepower and to a width of 10 feet from wing tip to wing tip.

One thousand dollars will not long remain the minimum cost of such machines. Lawrence Sperry, inventor of the tiny "messenger" plane, confidently predicts that the \$150 plane is only a few years away. Quantity production of small engines is now the only thing standing in the way of such cheap machines.

The implications of such facts are astounding. Railroad fares the country over average 3.6 cents a mile. Investment and upkeep aside, the air flivver fare would be .3 of a cent a mile. The air trip from New York to Chicago could be made in 12 hours on $10\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of gasoline. The commuting possibilities of the air flivver beggar the splendid achievements of the automobile and the electric train. Cheap land, country rents, and country life will be brought within reach of millions in the large cities. At the close of the day the New Yorker could take an elevator to the roof of his office building and fly to dinner with his family in the quiet of New Hampshire's White Mountains, or in the Adirondacks.

Protected skyscraper tops would offer ideal landing areas. Beacon routes for night flying will interlace across the continent, as surely as good roads followed the automobile. Aerial vacationing and week-ending on a grand scale are obviously im-

pending facts—that we shall accept soon as calmly as we now accept radio. The air flivver will make every foot of America accessible.

An airplane is a simpler mechanism than an automobile of corresponding quality. As a result, modern airplanes are mechanically almost perfect. Hence the cost of planes and their upkeep—after large-scale production and wide use have done for them what they did for automobile prices—will be less than that of automobiles. The flights in England demonstrated strikingly their far lower fuel demands.

Airplane driving—high speed and trick flying aside—is not a difficult art. It cannot be learned as easily as automobile driving, but, once learned, it is easier. With rare exceptions, the men who have met death in aviation were taking dangerous and unnecessary chances, just as the goggled heroes of the automobile race-track have taken chances and paid. Only in one case in a hundred is an aerial accident today a consequence of mechanical defect. And even in such rare cases—though the engine stops or the propeller breaks—a plane is in no particular danger. Side-slipping and careful gliding in practically every case will effect a safe landing. Even if a tree or building is struck in landing, a driver is not likely to be hurt; for landing speeds, particularly those of small planes, need not be great enough for bodily injury. In short, a sensible flyer is safer than a sensible motorist, because the wide roads of the air minimize the danger from fools. It is conceivable that the airplane will alter the course of civilization as profoundly as the automobile has done.

Don't Blame the Politicians

Extracts from Collier's, The National Weekly

Edward N. Hurley

YEARS ago a fine, clean young lawyer was elected to the Illinois State Assembly. Some of his friends were supporting an obnoxious bill carrying franchises out of which powerful interests were going to make a lot of money. "Here's what I'm up against," the young man said to a friend. "Everybody knows this is a bad bill. I cannot keep my self-respect and vote for it. If I don't vote for it, they say I'm through. And then, too, some of my friends are behind it. They have stood by me, and I ought to stand by them. What am I going to do?"

He was advised to vote against it. When the bill came up, the youngster made a better speech than anyone knew was in him. He spoke more forcibly against that bill than any of its professional opponents. The bill failed to go through. The wise heads said the young man was dead politically. Did it kill him? Not a bit of it. He is today one of the best members of the judiciary.

Most of the fault for poor government, as a rule, lies squarely with the eminently respectable citizens who think that the political game is no place for a gentleman, who will not go to ward meetings, or run for office, and who even forgot to vote on Election Day. The eminently respectable citizen sniffs, says, "Politics is no place for an honest man," and lets it go at that.

When politicians ignore the needs of the public it is because the voters are indifferent, and the leaders get to thinking that they can do as they please. If the man who talks about the low level of American politics sincerely thinks—as he ought to think—that our politics can be made better than it is, then the place for him is on the inside helping to make

politics better, and not on the outside calling names. And the way to get into politics is through the ward meetings.

The future of our country depends not upon the large number of young men trained in military camps, but on the young men trained in their political party camps to take an active interest in politics from the standpoint of public interest—who will be as fearless and brave in politics as they were in war. Future wars may be prevented when the men who would be called for the fighting are on hand to prevent the fight from starting. Main Street has more influence in the White House than Wall Street, but Main Street is not organized. When Main Street takes an active interest in every political campaign and aims to elect the best man, then Main Street will elect congressmen, governors, and senators—it will determine the policy of our Government.

It is minorities which determine policies and elect candidates. Why are so few college men elected to office? Why is it that, with their many advantages of education and so on, these men seldom serve their country in important posts? Are they taught at college that political parties are beneath them? Why should nearly every one be apologetic about taking part in a ward meeting? Are the colleges teaching practical politics or merely teaching the theory of government? Why not understand that this great country has to be run by human beings for human beings—and get into the running? The study of the theory of government is well enough as a background, but why not find out how the theories work in practice?

The following comments appear in the magazines from which the articles were selected:

RAY STANNARD BAKER (p. 645) was formerly Editor of McClure's Magazine and The American Magazine; Supply Commander Department of State in Great Britain, France and Italy in 1918; Director Press Bureau of American Commission to Negotiate Peace, at Paris, in 1919; author of "What Wilson Did at Paris," and other works.

FRANK TANNENBAUM (p. 649) has contributed frequent articles to both The Century Magazine and The Atlantic Monthly. He recently spent four months in Mexico and was thrown with many of the political leaders.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN (p. 651) comes nearer the record of Hercules than any man one can think of. Ever since he crossed Greenland on a pair of skis, thirty-odd years ago, he has been achieving the impossible. As Norway's first Minister to England, he displayed diplomatic qualities which became a national asset, and ultimately an asset to the whole cause of civilization. To the councils of the League of Nations he has brought a real neutrality—the sort that has earned for him the title "knight errant of humanity," and since the armistice he has successfully carried out missions that would have daunted any man not gifted with a genius for organization and an invincible strength of purpose.

MARGUERITE WOLFSON (p. 653) has made her home in the Philippines for over 20 years. She was educated in England, France and Switzerland. She went to France with the Red Cross in 1917, serving the French, British and American armies. The city of Orleans made her an honorary citizen and presented her with a bronze statue of Joan of Arc for services to French refugees.

FRANK K. KENT (p. 661) is the political editor of the Baltimore "Sun," and vice-president of the company which publishes that newspaper.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL (p. 665), trained and educated to the newspaper business by an editor father, Mr. Russell at the age of 24 had already become managing editor of the Minneapolis "Journal." Later he was on the editorial staff of the New York "Herald," the "World," and the "American." Commissioned by "Everybody's Magazine," in 1904, to report on the social conditions of various countries, he made the first of a series of trips around the world. He was a member of the special diplomatic mission sent to Russia by the United States in 1917. He has written more than 20 books, chiefly on sociological and economic questions.

FRANK A. WAUGH (p. 667), Professor of Horticulture and Landscape Gardening at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, has written prolifically on his special subject. He has collaborated with the United States Forest Service as Landscape Engineer.

ANDREW W. MELLON (p. 669) was never elected to public office, never had much to do with politics, and looks at things upon the whole in the way 55,000,000 people would have him look. He has made a success in his private business, is not under obligation to any interest or group of interests, is 68 years of age, and has nothing to gain or lose but a reputation for honesty and business sense. His only ambition in public office is to serve the American people effectively and to the best of his ability.

ANNIE MARION MacLEAN (p. 673), has seen many industries eye to eye with the humblest workers. She has taken the trouble to find out what it feels like to starch hundreds of collars a day—also to pick hops in Oregon and to work in the pulp mills of Newfoundland. At present she is exploring conditions in the oil fields of California, and Forum readers may look forward to another sketch describing this industry, from the point of view of the people who make the oil gush, rather than those who merely gush about the dividends to be reaped thereby.

WALTER PRITCHARD EATON (p. 697), best known as a writer and lecturer on dramatic topics, has published books and articles on a wide variety of subjects, and has taught in the Columbia School of Journalism.

EDWARD N. HURLEY (p. 704) states in his article, "I have been in business for more than 30 years, and during that time I have been more or less in politics, simply because I think it is the duty of every citizen who cares for his country to have something of a hand in seeing how it is governed. I have never run for office, but I have held several appointive offices, and thoroughly enjoyed doing my bit in them."

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Statement of ownership, etc., required by the Act of August 24, 1912, of The Reader's Digest, published monthly, at Floral Park, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1923, State of New York, County of Westchester, ss.: Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared DeWitt Wallace, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of The Reader's Digest and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit, 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The Reader's Digest Association, Pleasantville, N. Y. Editors, DeWitt Wallace, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Lila Bell Acheson, Pleasantville, N. Y.; H. J. Cubberley, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Managing Editor, DeWitt Wallace, Business Manager, None. 2. That the owners are: The Reader's Digest Association, Pleasantville, N. Y. Stockholders holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock: DeWitt Wallace, Lila Bell Acheson, H. J. Cubberley. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the full list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company as trustees or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, if given; also that the two said paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him. DeWitt Wallace (Signature of Managing Editor.) Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th of Dec., 1923. Geo. H. Cornell, Notary Public.